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IR
New York
Historical

Edwin P. Clark

Mch. 12. 1917

77
76
75 Longitude West
ONTARIO
Lac des Entouhomorons 1615
Champlains Landing Place 1615
KONOSHI
Lac du Saint
ONEIDAS
Oneida L.
KAYINGEHAGA
Maquaas
Mohawks
Onondaga Fort 1615
Salt Springs 1654
Lake Gennadha 1655
ONONDAGAS
RAGHNUNAGE
SENECAS
Cannonakers
GACHOOS
Sleewanguik Fort (1663)
CAPITANNASSES
MINNISINCKS
't Landt van Bachum
JOTTECAS
RARITANS
MINQUAAS
OGEHAGE
SANKIKAN
OR
STANKEKAN
Schuylkill
Fort Beverwyck
Fort New Gottenburg 1643
Upland Chester 1643
South River
Ft. Nassau 1623 Demolished 16
Fort Elsingburg 1643
Fort Christina 1638
Altona 1656
Wilmington
Fort Casimir 1651
New Castle
Nieuw Port May
C. May
1631
Swanendael
Lewiston
Hindopen 1626
Gedoopen
39
40
41
Drawn & Engd by Sherman & Smith, N.Y.
For Brodhead's Hi

MAP OF
NEW NETHERLAND,
According to the Charters granted by
THE STATES GENERAL,
on the 11th October, 1614, and 3rd June, 1621.
To Illustrate
BRODHEAD'S HISTORY
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.
Winterbergs
CONNITYCOCK
Pieter's bouwt bouw
Springfield 1636
NAYAAS
Hartford 1635
SEQUINS
PEQUATOOS
Pequods
Unotem 1637
WAPANOOS
NARRAGANSETTS
PAQUIT
NAUGHT
Salem 1629
Fort Hendricks B. 1614
Cove Bay 1614
SHAWMUT
Fox Baiton 1614
Boston Harbor
Cod 1602
Beverhier 1614
Staten Rock
Fuyck Bay
Staten Bay 1614
Nieuw Holland
La Malebarre 1605
Vlacke Rock 1614
Zuyder Zee 1614
NANTUCKET
Tyleland 1614
CANCHE
Fort 1614
Martha's Vineyard
Hendrick Christiansen's I. 1614
Mt. Mine Land
Block Island
Rhode Island 1638
Point Judith
Hackens Rock 1614
Montauk Point
Hampton 1648
Southold
SEWANHACKY
HANNONAGH
Shinnecock
Sagaponack Point 1614
Block I. 1614
Hoop Bay 1614
Montauk B. 1614
MOHEGANEKE
Hudson R. 1614
Hudson River 1664
Hackinsack 1641
Coleplonck 1646
Yonkers
PAPIRINEMIN
Fort den Duyvel
Dreyke R.
Fredelnpol
Dreyte Neck
The Great Bay 1614
PECHIESSE
Hackinsack R.
Bergen 1661
Meapath
Middelburgh
Nieuwen
Wissingen 1645
Flushing
Boswyck 1661
Bushwick
Wealbogh 1623
Bustdorp 1656
Amersfoort
Breuckelen 1646
Brooklyn
Heemstede 1644
Brompstead
Midwout 1654
Flatbush
Amersfoort 1654
Flatlands
New Utrecht 1661
RARITANS
MONACKNONG OF
EGHQUAOUS
Staten Eylandt
ACHKATATEA
Gravesend
Gravesend 1645
Long Eylandt 1644
Gover Island
R. of the Mountains 1609
R. Mauritius 1644
Hudson River 1664
Port May
Coenraets Bay
Cohanzy Point 1609
Cape Point 1626
Sand Rock
Mondoberg
NEVESINCKS
Hudson River 1664
R. Mauritius 1644
Draft prepared by the Author

COMMEMORATION

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW NETHERLAND,

ON ITS

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY.

BY THE

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
M DCCC LXIV.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS

FOR

THE COMMEMORATION.

1864.

GULIAN C. VERPLANCK,
GEORGE BANCROFT,
HAMILTON FISH,
JAMES W. BEEKMAN,
EVERT A. DUYCKINCK,
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER,
AUGUSTUS SCHELL,
GEORGE FOLSOM,
CHARLES P. KIRKLAND,
ANDREW WARNER,
GEORGE H. MOORE.

ORATION

ON THE

CONQUEST OF NEW NETHERLAND,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ON WEDNESDAY, THE TWELFTH OF OCTOBER, 1864,

BY

JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
M DCCC LXIV.

At a Meeting of the New York Historical Society, held at the Hall of the Union, Cooper Institute, on Wednesday Evening, October 12th, 1864, to commemorate the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Conquest of New Netherland,

"Gulian C. Verplanck, LL.D., submitted the following Resolution, which was seconded by George Bancroft, LL.D., and adopted unanimously:

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are eminently due and are hereby tendered to John Romeyn Brodhead, LL.D., for his eloquent Oration, delivered this evening, in commemoration of the Conquest of New Netherland, and that a copy be requested for the Archives of the Society, and for publication."

Extract from the Minutes:

ANDREW WARNER,
Recording Secretary.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1864, by
John Romeyn Brodhead,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

COMMEMORATIVE ORATION.

BROTHERS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Two hundred years ago, an English squadron, filled with armed men, came up our Bay, and anchored near what is now our Battery. Its presence foreboded and produced results of momentous interest to our city, our State, and our nation. You have directed that the anniversary of this event should be fitly observed; and, in obedience to your call, I venture to review the circumstances and consider the consequences of the transaction which we are this day assembled to commemorate.

In the summer of the year sixteen hundred and sixty-four, the eastern coast of North America was occupied by various separate Colonies, which had been founded by several European nations. For nearly half a century, England, France, and the United Netherlands had each been endeavoring to appropriate territory there, and rear dependent Plantations. France, the pioneer in successful colonization, had first pushed her adventurous way through the valley of the Saint Lawrence, and set up the cross of her faith with the lilies of her king, among the savages who dwelt on its borders. Thus began her dominion over New France, or Canada and Acadia. Farther south, England had kept closer to the sea-coast, the clear waters of which abounded with fish, and where safe har-

bors invited the emigrant to linger near those crystal waves which could roll unbroken to Land's End. Yet England had not occupied the whole of that more southern coast. Midway between Virginia and New England, colonists from Holland, following their countrymen who had explored the unknown wild, planted themselves quietly among the natives from whom they bought the soil, and sought to add a NEW NETHERLAND to the Batavian Republic.*

All these various colonies were settled under the authority of the respective countries in Europe whence they came. In the earlier period of adventure, those countries had adopted the principle that the savage territories which each might discover should become the absolute property of the explorer. As Columbus had discovered the New World—which ought to have borne his illustrious name—in the service of Spain, Pope Alexander the Sixth decreed that the Spanish sovereign should hold forever nearly the whole of that vast region which the Atlantic washed on the west.† A few years afterwards, the Cabots, under commissions from Henry the Seventh of England, discovered Newfoundland, and sailed, at a distance along the coast, as far south as Albemarle Sound. By virtue of these discoveries, the successors of Henry claimed sovereignty over all that part of the North American continent along the shores of which the Cabots had sailed.‡ But, as the previous sweeping title of Spain

* Tacitus describes the Batavians, who dwelt at the mouths of the Rhine, as "the bravest" of all the Germanic tribes—"*virtute præcipui Batavi*;" De Mor. Ger., 29. These Batavians were the forefathers of the founders of that Republic, the early history of which Mr. Motley has so worthily written. I use the word "Batavian" as synonymous with "Dutch." In its proper English sense the term "Dutch" is exclusively applied to the people of Holland, or the Netherlands, or Low Lands. It is a common blunder to call the people of Germany "Dutchmen," instead of "Germans," which is their correct national name in English.

† Chalmers's Political Annals, 6, 10; Hazard's Collections, I. 3–6; Irving's Columbus, I. 185–200; Holmes's Annals, I. 7, 559; Brodhead's History of New York, I. 2.

‡ Chalmers, 4, 8, 9; Bancroft, I. 10–14; Brodhead, I. 2; Palfrey's New England, I. 62, 63.

cut off any English claim, Queen Elizabeth declared that "*prescription without possession is of no avail;*" or, in other words, that actual occupation must follow discovery, in order to confer a valid right to savage territory.* This principle, which echoed the old Roman law, was first asserted by the Queen of England in 1580, because it was convenient for her to assert it against Spain; and it was deliberately confirmed by Parliament in 1621.† It established a most important rule in regard to European colonization in America.

Accordingly, France, with the quiet assent of Spain and England, explored the Saint Lawrence and occupied Canada and Acadia. A Florentine mariner in her service had, as early as 1524, discovered the Bay of New York, and praised its lake-like beauty. But as the voyage of Verazzano did not lead to colonization, France claimed no title to these regions which he had visited. Neither did the explorations of Gomez, in the following year, induce the Spaniards to occupy our coast.‡

* The doctrine maintained by Queen Elizabeth was, "*Præscriptio sine possessione haud valeat;*" Camden, Annales Eliz., 1580 (Ed. Hearne), 360; Brodhead I. 4, *note.* The translation of Camden in Kennett's England, II. 481 (Lond., 1706), renders the passage as follows: "Moreover, she understood not why her or any other Prince's subjects should be debarred from the *Indies*, which she could not persuade herself the Spaniard had any just title to by the Bishop of *Rome's* Donation (in whom she acknowledged no Prerogative, much less authority, in such cases, so as to lay any tie upon Princes which owed him no obedience or observance, or, as it were, to infeoffe the Spaniard in that New World, and invest him with the possession thereof), nor yet by any other claim than as they had touched here and there upon the coasts, built cottages, and given names to a River or a Cape; which things cannot entitle them to a Propriety. So that this donation of that which is another man's, which is of no validity in law, and this imaginary propriety, cannot hinder other princes from trading into those countries, and, without breach of the Law of Nations, from transporting colonies into those parts thereof where the Spaniards inhabit not, forasmuch as Prescription without Possession is little worth." This very sound doctrine annihilates the English claim by "Prescription," derived from the voyages of the Cabots, who, unlike the Spaniards, do not appear to have "touched here and there upon the coasts, built cottages, and given names to a River or a Cape; which things cannot entitle them to a Propriety."

† Commons' Debates, I. 250, 251; Chalmers, 6; Grotius, II. 2; Brodhead, I. 143; New York Colonial Documents, IX. 265, 378, 913.

‡ Holmes, I. 54, 56; Bancroft, I. 17, 38; Brodhead, I. 2, 3; Palfrey, I. 64, 65; New York Historical Society's Collections, (II.) I. 37–67.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the first English colonists were sent to Virginia. But the adventure failed; and the name which Raleigh gave to the savage lands he had attempted to occupy alone survived. A few years afterwards, the enterprising English mariners, Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth, visited the rivers of Maine, and explored the coast as far south as Buzzard's Bay. No European emigrants, however, came to take possession of one acre of the wild territory between Acadia and Virginia. To promote such occupation, by which alone, according to the English rule, a valid title could be secured, King James the First, in April, 1606, granted to two different companies the privilege of planting and governing two distinct and separate colonies in that part of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth degrees of latitude, or between Cape Fear and Acadia, not "actually possessed by any Christian prince or people." Two English settlements were accordingly begun in the following year. The first of these, within the Chesapeake Bay, became the prosperous colony of Virginia. The second, at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, or Kennebec, was abandoned in 1608. But no attempt was made to occupy any part of the intermediate region, nor had any English mariner yet searched the shore between Buzzard's Bay and the Chesapeake.*

In this situation of affairs, another Englishman, Henry Hudson,† sailing from Amsterdam in the service of the Dutch East India Company, explored, in the autumn of 1609, "THE GREAT RIVER OF THE MOUNTAINS," the

* Hazard, I. 50–58; Smith's Virginia; Pinkerton, XIII. 211; Brodhead, I. 5–15.

† It is a vulgar error to substitute "Hendrick" Hudson for "Henry" Hudson. De Laet probably originated it, by writing, in Dutch, Hendrick for Henry, in his "New World," cap. VII. p. 83, Ed. 1625. Van der Donck does the same, although he speaks of Hudson as an Englishman. Lambrechtsen names him correctly. Purchas of course calls him "Henry;" see N. Y. Historical Society's Collections, I. 61, 81, 102, 146, 173. Mr. H. C. Murphy, in his recent interesting monograph on Hudson, p. 36, gives a copy of the contract of the 8th of January, 1609, to which the name signed is "HENRY HUDSON."

mouth of which Verazzano had discovered and Gomez had revisited nearly a century before. This memorable event was duly commemorated by our predecessors and associates fifty-five years ago, when the Reverend Doctor Miller delivered the first anniversary discourse before the New York Historical Society.* The track of the yacht HALF-MOON was soon followed by emigrants from Holland; and, in 1613, Dutch trading establishments were formed at Manhattan, and at the present city of Albany. The islands, coasts, and rivers between Sandy Hook and Buzzard's Bay were now for the first time explored by Adriaen Block, who sailed in the "Restless," or "Unrest," through Hell-Gate; and other Holland mariners pushed their examinations eastward, as far as Acadia. In October, 1614, the General Government of the Dutch Republic granted a Charter to the owners of the vessels which had thus been employed in American adventure, authorizing them exclusively for three years from January, 1615, to visit the "newly discovered lands" they had explored between New France and Virginia, extending from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, which region was now formally named "NEW NETHERLAND."†

The title which Holland thus acquired to New Netherland—as far east, at any rate, as Buzzard's Bay—was as just and valid as any of which the history of the world contains a record. According to the English rule, it undoubtedly belonged to the Dutch. Unquestionable discovery had been followed by the actual occupation of

* See New York Historical Society's Collections, I. 17–60.

† See Appendix, Note A; N. Y. Colonial Documents, I. 10, 11; Brodhead, I. 25–65. Another vulgar error which must be noticed, is the absurd use of the term "*the New Netherlands*," instead of "NEW NETHERLAND." In this respect, the translations of Lambrechtsen, Van der Donck, De Vries, and De Laet, in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. (II.) I. 79, 129, 250, 291, are gratuitously faulty. The original Dutch in every case is "Nieuw Nederlandt," and not "*de Nieuw Nederlanden*." Even Smith, in his History of New York, I. 5, gives the name correctly, as "Nova Belgia, or New Netherland."

savage territory by a Christian people.* Still further to maintain their rights, the Dutch Government, in June, 1621, after the expiration of the original New Netherland Charter, incorporated a West India Company, with power to colonize and govern the "fruitful and unsettled" regions in Africa and America which it might occupy.†

Under this charter New Netherland grew into a Province, invested by the States-General with the arms of a Count, and deriving its laws, its habits, and its religion from its Batavian Fatherland. Manhattan Island was honestly purchased from the aborigines, and made the emporium of the fur-trade, which produced the chief provincial revenue. Fort Amsterdam was built on its southern point, as a refuge in case of an attack by the savages. Posts were also established at Fort Orange, now Albany, on the North River; at Fort Nassau, near Philadelphia, on the South, or Delaware; and at Good Hope, now Hartford, on the Fresh, or Connecticut. Agricultural colonies, subordinate to the general Provincial Government, were likewise settled, under Patroons, at several points on the North and South Rivers.‡

Six years after the Dutch Federal Government had fixed the name of New Netherland on the map of the world, King James the First, adopting the term originally proposed by John Smith, sealed a patent in November, 1620, for the colonization of "New England in America." In this he included all the territory between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degrees of latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But the patent candidly provided that no territory was intended to be granted which was "actually

* See Note B, in the Appendix.

† Hazard, I. 120-131; Brodhead, I. 134-137.

‡ N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 37, 139, 181, 262, 283-290; Brodhead, I. 148, 151, 153, 164, 200-203, 235. An engraving of the Provincial Seal of New Netherland embellishes the title-page of this publication.

possessed or inhabited by any other Christian prince or estate." This proviso clearly excepted New France and New Netherland.*

The same year, a second and more successful experiment was made in colonizing a part of titular New England. This adventure was undertaken, however, before the patent of King James was sealed. The emigrants were English Puritans, most of whom had enjoyed an asylum for several years in Holland, and were so well satisfied with its liberal government, that they desired to settle themselves in America under its flag. Their minister at Leyden, John Robinson, who was versed in the Dutch language, accordingly offered to accompany four hundred families from Holland and England to New Netherland, and plant there a new commonwealth, under the jurisdiction of the Prince of Orange and the States-General. But the authorities of the Republic, preferring that their American Province should be first colonized by their own citizens, and unwilling to excite the jealousy of the King of England, by transplanting and protecting there his refractory subjects, who wished to emigrate, declined to encourage Robinson's proposition.† The Puritan refugees, having obtained a large patent from the English Virginia Company, which authorized them to settle themselves south of the fortieth degree of latitude—in what now forms part of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland—therefore set sail in the Mayflower, intending to make their first land at Sandy Hook, which was the best known point.‡

* Hazard, I. 103-118; Trumbull's Connecticut, I. 546-567; Smith's Virginia; Pinkerton, XIII. 208; Chalmers, 81, 83; Brodhead, I. 90-96, 252. It is to be remarked that while the first Patent of April, 1606, only reached to the forty-fifth degree (*ante*, p. 10), this second Patent, of November, 1620, grasped three degrees farther north. At the time of its grant, the French occupation of Canada was notorious, and the Dutch possession of New Netherland must have been known to the English authorities; Brodhead, I. 95, 96, 144; Note B, Appendix.

† N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 22-24; Brodhead, I. 115-128; Bradford's Plymouth, 42, 43.

‡ The northern boundary of Virginia, according to its second Charter of 1609, was two hundred miles north of Point Comfort, or about the fortieth parallel of

But, after a boisterous voyage, they were driven northward to Cape Cod; and, having vainly attempted to sail around the shoals of Cape Malebarre, they at length, in December, 1620, accidentally landed on the sandy beach of New Plymouth.*

This first Puritan colony in New England was followed, after a few years, by a larger emigration to Massachusetts Bay. Before long, other English settlements were begun on the Fresh or Connecticut River, and at New Haven, which regions Adriaen Block had discovered, and from which it was thought profitable to "crowd the Dutch out."† Rhode Island was also founded, in a spirit of catholic magnanimity, by fugitives from the sectarian despotism of Massachusetts. The eastern end of Long Island (around the whole of which Block had been the first to sail, and which was first laid down on a Dutch map)‡ was soon afterwards adversely occupied by emigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut. All these settlements, except the first one at New Plymouth, were made under the general authority of the New England Patent; and, in the case of Long Island, under special grants from the Earl of Stirling, to whom it had been conveyed by the Patentees of James the First.§

latitude, which intersects the neighborhood of Barnegat and Philadelphia; Chalmers, 25; Hazard, I. 58–72; Holmes, I. 133; Brodhead, I. 15, 122, 129, 252. It has been stated (*ante*, p. 12), that the New England Patent of November, 1620, extended from the fortieth degree (or the northern boundary of Virginia), north to the forty-eighth. The Mayflower "Pilgrims," therefore, intended to settle themselves *south of the fortieth degree of latitude*, where only their Patent from the Virginia Company could advantage them. Mr. J. S. Barry, however, in his recent History of Massachusetts, I. 70, conjectures that if that Patent should ever be discovered, it would "*be found to cover territory now included in New York.*"

* Bradford's Plymouth, 44–88; Brodhead, I. 128–133.

† J. H. Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut, I. 565.

‡ See the "Figurative Map," in N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 13, referred to in Note A, in Appendix. I do not find sufficient evidence that Gomez sailed through Long Island Sound, or that it is represented in Ribero's Planisphere of 1529; see Palfrey, I. 65, 66; Asher's Introduction to "Henry Hudson, the Navigator," lxxxviii., xci.—xciii., cii. The curious copper globe which Mr. Buckingham Smith recently deposited with the New York Historical Society does not exhibit Long Island.

§ Brodhead, I. 189, 208, 234, 240, 241, 259, 260, 293–300, 324, 331, 332.

While these colonies were thus growing on the north and east of New Netherland, another English settlement was established on her southern frontier. Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic peer of Ireland, obtained from Charles the First, in 1632, a patent for that part of the territory of Virginia lying between the north bank of the Potomac and the fortieth degree of latitude, which, in honor of the Queen, was named Maryland. Emigrants, chiefly of the Roman faith, soon came over to occupy the Province, which was founded on more liberal principles than any that British subjects had yet planted in America.*

In the mean time, New Netherland flourished apace. Churches were built; Dutch clergymen, educated and ordained in Holland, were established; schoolmasters were employed, and schools opened; and laws, based on the jurisprudence of the Batavian Republic, were enacted. Names familiar in the Fatherland replaced, with more affection than good taste, the sonorous and descriptive nomenclature of the aborigines. The young metropolis on Manhattan became New Amsterdam, and hope whispered that the glory of the latter city might, in time, eclipse the greatness of the old.†

The Provincial government of New Netherland was vested in a Director and Council, and a Fiscal or Attorney-General, appointed by the West India Company. The supreme laws of the Province were the ordinances of the Director and Council, the instructions of the Company, and the statutes and customs of the Fatherland. To administer this government and execute these laws, the Company appointed Cornelis Jacobsen May to be the first Director of New Netherland, in 1624. May was suc-

* Bancroft, I. 241-248; Brodhead, I. 251-253.

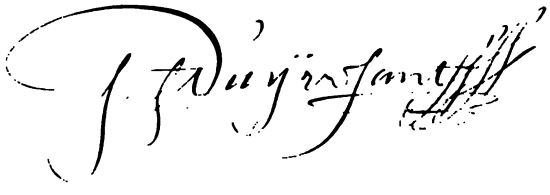
† Brodhead, I. 183, 196, 223, 313, 337, 343, 374, 467. The population of Amsterdam, in 1857, was 259,873; that of New York, in 1860, was 813,669.

[illegible] William [illegible]. In 1647 [illegible] Director and [illegible] William [illegible], a person of [illegible] of his predecessors, [illegible] administration. In the [illegible] of 1647 [illegible] Director-General, which [illegible] for seventeen years, and [illegible] with the [illegible] of the Dutch dominion.*

Stuyvesant was one of those [illegible] who stamp their names worthily on history. The son of a Dutch clergyman in Friesland, he was educated at the famous High School at Franeker, where he acquired that familiarity with the Latin tongue, which he was always rather fond of displaying. Having entered the military service of the West India Company, he was sent to Curaçao as their Director. While in that office he lost a leg in a venturesome attack on Saint Martin, and was obliged to return to Holland. Before long he was promoted to the Directorship of New Netherland, whither he sailed, after having taken his oath in the presence of the States-General.† With many of the nobler characteristics, Stuyvesant oftentimes exhibited some of the weaker and more frivolous qualities of mankind. He delighted in pomp, and the ostentation of despotic command. Imperious and irascible, he was honest and faithful. Obeying the orders of his superiors with scrupulous zeal, he insisted on the implicit obedience of his subordinates. If he was arbitrary, he was generally just. He loved his Fatherland, her laws, and her religion, with hearty devotion; and if, at times, his earnestness carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, none can impeach the sincerity of his pur-

* Brodhead, I. 154, 159, 162–164, 222, 223, 275, 413, 414, 465.

† N. Y. H. S. Coll. (II.) III. 263, 264. Col. Doc., I. 164, 173, 175–178. Brodhead, I. 413, 414, 432, 433. A translation of Stuyvesant's Commission is in the Appendix, Note C.



poses, or fail to admire the energetic firmness with which he enforced his own convictions.

Under such administration, in spite of much selfish mismanagement on the part of the West India Company, New Netherland increased abundantly. Emigrants constantly came over from Holland, while French and English subjects flocked in from the neighboring colonies. From Massachusetts, especially, several persecuted Protestants, were attracted by the freedom of conscience which was the well-known characteristic of the Dutch Province. Others came from afar, to share the substantial prosperity which its comprehensive system, no less than its physical advantages, insured. "Promote commerce," wrote the West India Company to Stuyvesant, in the winter of 1652, "whereby Manhattan must prosper, her population increase, her trade and navigation flourish. For when these once become permanently established—when the ships of New Netherland ride on every part of the ocean—then numbers, now looking to that coast with eager eyes, will be allured to embark for your island."* The prophecy was splendidly fulfilled. New Amsterdam rapidly grew in importance, and was allowed a municipal magistracy of her own, consisting of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens, in imitation of her imperial namesake on the Zuyder Zee. Her foreign commerce soon began to rival her domestic trade. The first vessel ever built by Europeans in North America—after the "Virginia of Sagadahoc," in 1607—was Block's significantly named "Restless of Manhattan," in 1614. One of the largest merchantmen in Christendom was launched by her shipwrights in 1631. Strangers eagerly sought burghership in the rising metropolis, and the tongues of many nations resounded through her ancient winding streets.† Like her pro-

* Albany Records, IV. 91; Brodhead, I. 547; Bancroft, II. 294.

† Col. Doc., I. 296, III. 17; Brodhead, I. 14, 55, 212, 215, 219, 374, 548; *ante*, p. 11.

totype, New Amsterdam was always a city of the world.

The Province of New Netherland was, indeed, the most advantageously situated region in North America. Its original limits included all the Atlantic coast between Cape Henlopen and Montauk Point, and even farther east and north, and all the inland territory bounded by the Connecticut Valley on the east, the Saint Lawrence and Lake Ontario on the north, and the affluents of the Ohio, the Susquehanna, and the Delaware, on the west and south. Within those bounds is the only spot on the continent whence issue divergent streams which find their outlets in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico.* Across the surface of the Province runs a chain of the Alleghanies, through which, in two remarkable chasms, the waters of the Delaware and the Hudson flow southward to the sea. At the head of its tides, the Hudson, which its explorers appropriately called "the Great River of the Mountains," receives the current of the Mohawk, rushing in from the west. Through the valleys of these rivers, and across the neighboring lakes, the savage natives of the country tracked those pathways of travel and commerce which civilized science only adopted and improved.† Along their banks soon grew up flourishing villages, contributing to the prosperity of the chief town, which, with unerring judgment, had been planted on the ocean-washed island of Manhattan. In addition to these superb geographical peculiarities, every variety of soil; abundant mineral wealth; nature, grand, beautiful, and picturesque, and teeming with vegetable and animal life; and a climate as healthful as it is delicious, made New Netherland the most

* The water-shed of Central New York was the seat of the Iroquois Confederation, long before European discovery.

† The Erie Canal and the Delaware and Hudson Canal follow the old Indian trails.

attractive of all the European colonies in America. From the first it was always the chosen seat of empire.

It was the wise decree of Providence that this magnificent region should first be occupied by the Batavian race. There was expanded the germ of a mighty cosmopolitan State, destined to exert a moral influence as happy as the physical peculiarities of its temperate territory were alluring. Yet the growth and prosperity of the Dutch Province were fatal to its political life. The envy of its neighbors was aroused. Covetousness produced an irrepressible desire of possession, which could be appeased only by its violent seizure by unscrupulous foes.

If at this time Englishmen had any one national characteristic more strongly developed than another, it was jealousy of the Dutch. Strangely, too, this sentiment seemed to have grown with the growth of Puritanism. It was enough for the British islander that the continental Hollander spoke a language different from his own. It mattered not that Coster, of Haerlem, invented the art of arts; or that Grotius, Erasmus, Hooft, and Vondel, among scholars, and Boerhaave and Huygens, among philosophers, and Rembrandt, and Cuyp, and Wouverman, among painters, were illustrious sons of the liberal Republic. Even William the Silent and Barneveldt were of little account among insular Britons—"divided from all the rest of the world."* Coarse wit and flippant ridicule were continually employed in educating the Englishman to undervalue and dislike the Hollander. On the other hand, Holland, at the zenith of her power, was not jealous of England. The Dutch maxim was "*Live and let live.*" Both nations were fairly matched in military and naval

* "*Toto divisos orbe Britannos,*" Virg. Ec., I. 67. Dryden, in his translation of Virgil, describes his early countrymen as—

"A race of men from all the world disjoined."

strength. During the period of the English Commonwealth, the only opportunity had occurred of testing against each other the skill of their admirals and the valor of their seamen. If Blake and Ayscue maintained the honor of their flag, De Ruyter won equal glory, and Tromp placed a broom at his mast-head, in token that he had swept the channel clear of English ships. Both nations were Protestant, and each had learned to respect the proverbial courage of the other. But the commerce of the Dutch Republic was now the vastest in the world.

> "The Sun but seemed the labourer of the year:
> Each waxing Moon supplied her watery store,
> To swell those tides which from the line did bear
> Their brim-full vessels to the Belgian shore."*

Such splendid prosperity of a rival, the selfishness of England could not brook; and Dryden took care to stimulate the envy of his countrymen when he wrote of the Hollanders:

> "As Cato fruits of Afric did display,
> Let us before our eyes their Indies lay:
> All loyal English will like him conclude—
> Let Cæsar live, and Carthage be subdued."†

This sentiment of jealousy accompanied the English colonists to America, and even burned more fiercely in some parts of the wilderness. The motives to their emigration were various. The communities which they founded were dissimilar. Virginia was occupied by Royalists, who admired the hierarchy; New England by Puritans, who abhorred prelacy; Maryland by larger-minded Roman Catholics. But all these were Britons—naturally selfish, exclusive, and overbearing—who, with marked differences in creeds and fashions, were still the subjects of a common sovereignty, and, as such, felt a

* Dryden's Annus Mirabilis, 1666.
† Satire on the Dutch, 1662.

common enmity against the colonists of that nation which was the successful rival of their own.

This antipathy, however, was not equally strong in all the English colonies. It was slight in Virginia; it waxed hotter in Maryland; while it blazed into malignant envy in New England. Between Virginia and New Netherland, the relations had almost always been friendly, because neither had injured, while each had benefited the other. With Maryland, embarrassing questions had arisen respecting the occupation of the Delaware by the Dutch and the Swedes. But from the time of the first intercourse between Manhattan and New Plymouth, the Puritan emigrants pertinaciously insisted that the Dutch colonists of New Netherland were "intruders" into New England. With inconsistent reasoning, but characteristic assurance, they maintained their own title under the patent of 1620, while they denied that of the Hollanders, which was recognized in its proviso.* Gradually they crowded on, westward of the Connecticut River, until, in 1650, it was agreed between Stuyvesant and the New England authorities that the eastern boundary of New Netherland should be Oyster Bay on Long Island, and a line running northerly from Greenwich on the continent. Mainly through their representations, Cromwell directed an expedition to wrest from the Dutch Republic its American Territory. But, by the treaty of 1654, the Protector virtually conceded New Netherland to Holland. The States-General, in 1656, ratified the colonial boundary agreement of 1650; but the British Government avoided any action on the subject, and the Dutch Province continued, for a while longer, to be what New England writers have pertly called "a thorn in the side."†

* See *ante*, p. 13; Appendix, Note B.

† N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 283–293, 364, 451, 458, 460, 464, 471, 475, 486, 487, 541, 548, 566–575, 610–612; Brodhead, I. 519, 520, 544, 545, 586, 601, 602; Palfrey, II. 372.

In the history of States, might generally overbears right. Of this fate New Netherland was a conspicuous example. While Maryland threatened on the South, Connecticut, which had constantly encroached westward along the Sound, procured, in 1662, from the heedless King of England, a patent which covered a large part of the Dutch Province, the inhabitants of which she did not scruple to describe as her "noxious neighbours." Under this patent, Connecticut extended her jurisdiction as far as Westchester on the mainland, and over nearly the whole of Long Island. Attempts were even made, under the lead of Captain John Scott, to reduce the suburban Dutch villages of Brooklyn, Midwout or Flatbush, Amersfoort, New Utrecht, and Bushwick. To these bold encroachments Stuyvesant could offer only a feeble resistance. Justice and weight of argument were on his side, but his adversaries had the decisive advantage of superior numbers. The most that could be done was to put the Dutch capital in a condition of defence against any attack of a colonial enemy. The danger which menaced the Province induced the Director to resort to the people, as he and his predecessor had been obliged to call on them before. A LANDTDAG, or Assembly of deputies from the several towns, was accordingly convened at New Amsterdam, in the spring of 1664. It was there determined that, without aid from the home government, it would be impossible to regain the towns on Long Island which the English, who were six to one, had usurped from the Dutch. Repeated appeals had been sent to the West India Company for re-enforcements, by which alone could the rest of New Netherland be preserved to Holland. Its population was now full ten thousand, and that of New Amsterdam about fifteen hundred. In spite of the clouds which lowered around the narrowing horizon of the Province, Stuyvesant hopefully looked forward to its becoming still more profi-

table to the Fatherland, and urged upon the company that its waste lands, which could feed a hundred thousand inhabitants, should be peopled at once by the oppressed Protestants of France, Savoy, and Germany.*

Yet the perilous condition of New Netherland was not rightly appreciated in Holland. It had been unwisely intrusted to the government of a great commercial monopoly, which thought more of its failing corporate interests than of those of the nation, or of its colonists in America. When, at length, the danger which threatened the Province could not be disregarded, the States-General took insufficient measures to confirm their power there. In January, 1664, they desired the British Government to order the restitution of all places which the King's subjects had usurped from the Hollanders in New Netherland, and the cessation of further aggressions.† But Sir George Downing, the English ambassador at the Hague, who was one of the earliest, ablest, and most disreputable graduates from Harvard College in Massachusetts, could not forget the prejudices he had imbibed, and startled the Grand Pensionary De Witt by claiming that the inhabitants of the Dutch Province were "the incroachers" upon New England.‡

Downing's words were full of ominous import. The Restoration of King Charles the Second was the prognostic of the fate of New Netherland. One of the first acts of his reign was to appoint a Council for Foreign Plantations, with orders to render "those dominions useful to England, and England helpful to them." This was the key to the British colonial policy. A new Navigation Law was passed, more effectually to cripple Dutch com-

* N. Y. Col. Doc., II. 234, 248, 369, 374, 389–409, 512; Valentine's Manual, 1860, 592; Trumbull's Connecticut, I. 249, 252, 265, 513; Brodhead, I. 317, 325, 474, 475, 559, 695, 702, 703, 719, 722, 723, 726, 728, 729, 733, 734; Appendix, note G.

† Col. Doc., II. 227; Brodhead, I. 730.

‡ Lister's Clarendon, III. 276; Col. Doc., II. 416–418, *note*.

merce by excluding all foreign vessels from trading with any of the English colonies in Asia, Africa, or America. Soon afterwards, Lord Stirling complained that the Dutch had intruded into Long Island, which had been conveyed to his grandfather, and prayed that they might be subdued or expelled. While this subject was under the consideration of the Plantation Council, it was found that the Navigation Act was disregarded or evaded in the English-American colonies. The trade carried on between New Netherland and Virginia, Maryland, and New England, was reported to be a loss to the King of many thousand pounds a year. A more stringent Navigation Law was therefore enacted. Still the forbidden intercolonial traffic was continued. The statute could not be enforced as long as New Netherland remained a Dutch Province. It was necessary to the success of that most intensely selfish law that New Netherland should be under the government of England, and it was determined that it should be reduced to subjection.*

The easiest way to sustain this characteristic logic was to insist that the Dutch Province was the true inheritance of the English King. Under this pretence, the means to obtain its possession could be mildly called a Resumption rather than a Usurpation. The Dutch title to their Province, although, in the judgment of Louis the Fourteenth himself, it was "the best founded,"† was as little regarded by Charles the Second as the injunctions of the Decalogue. Notwithstanding the rule asserted by Queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by Parliament; the proviso in the Patent of James the First, and the continuous occupation of New Netherland by Hollanders, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, under the instigation of Downing, was not ashamed to pronounce that they had "no colour of right" to its pos-

* Col. Doc., III. 35, 40–50; Brodhead, I. 686, 702, 725, 735.
† D'Estrades's Letters, &c., III. 340.

session.* Clarendon then purchased for his son-in-law, James, Duke of York and Albany, Lord Stirling's claim to Pemaquid and Long Island, and advised the King to grant a new Patent to the Duke, including those regions, together with all the Dutch territory on the mainland.†

Accordingly, on the Twelfth of March, 1664, Charles granted, under the Great Seal, to his brother James, a part of Maine, the whole of Long Island, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and the Hudson River, with all the mainland from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay. The Grant included all those portions of the present States of Connecticut and Massachusetts lying west of the Connecticut River, as well as the whole of Vermont and New Jersey. His Patent invested the Duke with "full and absolute power" to govern all English subjects, inhabiting this territory, according to English law, and authorized him or his agents to expel by force all persons who might dwell there without his special license. It was the most impudent, as it was the most despotic instrument ever recorded in the Colonial Archives of Great Britain.‡

This action of Charles the Second was not, however,

* Lister's Clarendon, III. 347.

† Col. Doc., III. 225, 606, 607, V. 330, VII. 431; Duer's Life of Stirling, 37, 38.

‡ See Patent at length in the State Library at Albany; in Book of Patents in Secretary's Office, I. 109–115; in Leaming and Spicer's Grants and Concessions, 3–8; and in N. Y. Colonial Documents, II. 295–298. See also Col. Doc., VII. 597, and VIII. 107, 436, for description of the territory granted. If this Patent was good as far as it related to the territory in Maine, Long Island, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, which the English already possessed, it was certainly invalid in regard to the Dutch Province, of which the grantor never had possession. Even Chalmers, in his Political Annals, p. 579, says, that "As the validity of the grant to the Duke of York, while the Dutch were in quiet possession of the country, had been very justly questioned, he thought it prudent to obtain a new one, in June, 1674." See also Col. Doc., V. 596, VII. 596, 597. It is worthy of remark that by his first Patent, of 12 March, 1664, the Duke was authorized to govern *only English subjects* inhabiting his territory; and that in his second Patent, of 29 June, 1674, the words, "*or any other person or persons*," were added; see Col. Doc., II. 296, and Leaming and Spicer, 5 and 42. After obtaining possession of New Netherland, therefore, the Duke could not govern its Dutch inhabitants unless as British subjects; but he could expel them if they remained there without his permission.

influenced by any sympathy with the likes or the dislikes of his New England subjects. They had received the tidings of his Restoration with distrust, and had proclaimed him King with peevish austerity. If he had been induced to grant a part of New Netherland to Connecticut, he took pains to avoid his careless bounty by a more unscrupulous appropriation to his own brother. The age of Chartered Oligarchies had passed away. Royal or Proprietary Governments were thenceforth to enforce the British Colonial policy. New England was now in disfavor at Whitehall; and the Duke of York was desired by the Privy Council to name Commissioners, whom the King determined to send thither, to see how the several Colonies observed their Charters, and to settle their differences about boundaries. James accordingly selected four persons, whom history has honored with an unequal notoriety. The first was Colonel Richard Nicolls; a university scholar, a brave soldier, and a prudent officer, who had been the Duke's companion in exile, and was one of the Grooms of his bedchamber. The other three were Sir Robert Carr and Colonel George Cartwright, of the Royal Army, and Samuel Maverick, a former resident in Massachusetts. These Commissioners were furnished with full instructions to guide their conduct in America. One of these instructions was, to obtain the active assistance of the New England Colonies in reducing the Dutch in New Netherland to subjection.*

The Duke of York also commissioned Nicolls, on the second of April, to be his Deputy-Governor in the territory which the King had given him, and execute all the powers which his Patent authorized.† To gain possession, by force if necessary, was the next step. As Lord

* Col. Doc., III. 51-65; Mass. H. S. Coll., XXXII. 284; Notes and Queries (II.), III. 214-216.

† A copy of the Duke of York's commission to Nicolls is in the Appendix, Note D.

High Admiral of England, James assigned for the reduction of New Netherland the frigate Guinea, of thirty-six guns, Captain Hugh Hyde; the Elias, of thirty, Captain William Hill; the Martin, of sixteen, Captain Edward Grove; and a chartered transport, the William and Nicholas, of ten, Captain Thomas Morley. Early in May the Royal Commissioners embarked in these vessels, with about four hundred and fifty veteran soldiers, forming three full companies, commanded by Colonels Nicolls, Carr, and Cartwright, under whom were several other commissioned officers in the British Army. Among these were Captains Mathias Nicolls, Robert Needham, Harry Norwood, and Daniel Brodhead, some of whom, intending to settle themselves permanently in New Netherland, after its acquisition, were accompanied by their families. The expedition, which was well provided with all necessaries for war, set sail from Portsmouth in the middle of May, with orders to make its first anchorage in Gardiner's Bay, at the eastern end of Long Island.*

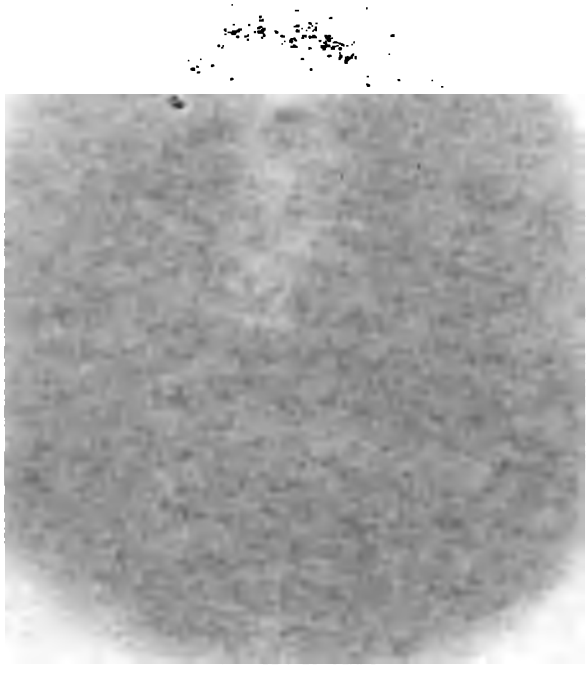
These portentous movements did not escape the attention of the Dutch Government at the Hague. As early as February, 1664, Stuyvesant had distinctly warned the West India Company of the King's intended grant to the Duke of York, and that not only Long Island, but the whole Province, would be lost to Holland unless speedy re-enforcements should be sent. The Company, however, now on the verge of bankruptcy, replied with marvellous infatuation, in the following April, that the Royal Commissioners were only going to install Bishops in New England, the inhabitants of which, who had gone there to escape Prelacy, would rather live under Dutch authority, with freedom of conscience, than risk that in order to fall

* Patents, III. 43; Col. Doc., II. 243, 445, 501, III. 70, 104, 117, 149; Smith's New York, I. 16; Clarke's James the Second, I. 400; Hazard's Annals of Penn., IV. 31; Coll. Ulster Hist. Soc., I. 51; Brodhead, I. 736, 737, 744, *note;* Wood, 144.

under a government from which they had formerly fled. This absurd letter had scarcely been dispatched before the real object of Nicolls's expedition was better understood. Downing bluntly told De Witt that New Netherland existed "only in the maps."* Prompt orders to De Ruyter, who was then on his way to the Mediterranean, might have hurried his fleet to Manhattan in time to aid Stuyvesant in repulsing the treacherous force of England. But a purblind confidence in the honor of Charles the Second, and an unjust estimate of the importance to the Fatherland of its American Province, clouded the Grand Pensionary's judgment. The necessary orders were not sent to De Ruyter, and New Netherland was abandoned to her fate.

A tedious voyage of ten weeks brought the squadron of Nicolls to Boston. The Royal Commissioners immediately demanded the assistance of the New England colonies; which Massachusetts promised, with frugal reluctance, while Connecticut showed more selfish zeal, because she hoped to secure Long Island to herself. Piloted by Boston mariners, the English ships then sailed for the mouth of the Hudson; and, on the sixteenth of August (Old Style), the leading frigate Guinea, with Nicolls and his colleagues on board, anchored just inside of Coney Island, at Nyack, or New Utrecht Bay, where she was joined, two days afterwards, by the other vessels. Here the King's Commissioners were met by John Winthrop, Samuel Willys, and other Connecticut magistrates. Thomas Willett, also, appeared on the part of New Plymouth. John Scott was likewise at hand, with a force "pressed" at New Haven. The train-bands of Southold, and the other English towns at the eastern end of Long Island, under John Younge, soon increased the threatening array. Northern Indians and French rovers were held as re-

* Col. Doc., II. 234, 235, 236, 367, 408, 493; Lister's Clarendon, III. 307, 330.



John Winthrop

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

serves. Thomas Clarke and John Pynchon hastened from Massachusetts to the Royal Commissioners; but as there was already gathered an overpowering strength, the services of the auxiliaries promised by that Colony were not required.*

The harbor of New Amsterdam was at once blockaded, and the Long Island farmers were forbidden to furnish supplies to the City. A Proclamation was issued by the Royal Commissioners, on the twentieth of August, promising that all persons, of any nation, who would submit to the King's Government, should peaceably enjoy their estates, "and all other privileges, with His Majesty's English subjects." The inhabitants of Long Island were specially summoned to meet the Commissioners at Gravesend, a few days afterwards. Large numbers accordingly attended, when Nicolls published the Duke of York's Patent and his own Commission, and demanded their submission to his authority. Winthrop, as Governor of Connecticut, declared that, as the King's pleasure was now made known, the claim of that Colony to the Island ceased. Nicolls, on his part, promised to confirm all the then officers in their places, and call an Assembly, where laws should be enacted. This assurance quelled opposition. Long Island, inhabited chiefly by English subjects, submitted at once to the Government of the Duke of York; and the militia from its eastern towns, under Younge, joining with the New England auxiliaries, marched from Amersfoort and Flatbush towards Brooklyn, to assist the Royal expedition in reducing New Amsterdam.†

Lulled into a false security by the unhappy letter of the

* Mass. Rec., IV. (II.) 117–128, 141, 149, 157–168; N. Y. General Entries, I. 2–7, 29; Col. Doc., II. 372, 410, 414, 433, 501, III. 65, 66, 84; New Haven Rec., II. 550; Thompson's Long Island, I. 127; Trumbull's Conn., I. 267; Morton's Memorial, 311, note; Appendix, Note II.

† Col. Doc., II. 410, 414, 434, 438, 443, 501; Oyster Bay Rec., A. 19; N. Y. Gen. Ent., I. 7, 8; Thompson, I. 124, II. 323, 328.

West India Company and certain contradictory statements of Willett, Stuyvesant had meanwhile suspended the measures which he had begun to take for the defence of the Capital, and had gone up to Fort Orange, to repress some hostilities that had broken out among the savages in its neighborhood. On learning the approach of the English forces, the Director hurried back to New Amsterdam, which he reached on the fifteenth of August—or the twenty-fifth, according to the New Style—only one day before the Guinea Frigate anchored at Nyack, in the lower Bay. In concert with the Municipal authorities, every possible measure was taken for the defence of the Metropolis. All the inhabitants, without exception, were ordered to labor in strengthening the "old and rotten palisades," which could hardly be called fortifications; a constant guard was established; the brewers were forbidden to malt any grain; and heavy guns, furnished by the Director, were mounted on the indefensible works.

But the condition of the City was hopeless. No aid could be obtained from Long Island. The regular garrison in Fort Amsterdam did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, and its supply of powder was very short. Its low earthen walls, originally built to resist an attack of the savages, and overlooked, on the north, by the "Heereweg," or Broadway, might have been sufficient against any Colonial force, but could not be held against the ships and the veterans of Nicolls. The Director had, long before, expressed his military opinion, that "whoever by water is master of the river, will be, in a short time, master by land of the feeble fortress." The anticipated contingency had now actually happened, and a hostile English squadron was in full command of the port. The burghers, of whom only two hundred and fifty were able to bear arms, thought more of protecting their own property, and of obtaining favorable terms of capitula-

tion, than of defending their open town against the overwhelming superiority of the invaders. The whole City force, placed man by man, four rods apart, could not guard its hastily-built "little breastwork."*

Nevertheless, Stuyvesant determined to hold out to the last. To the peremptory summons of Nicolls, he opposed as able a vindication of the Dutch title to New Netherland as the most experienced publicist could have drawn. This was conveyed to Gravesend on Tuesday, the twenty-third of August—or the second of September, according to the New Style—by four of the most trusted advisers of the Provincial and the City Governments, who were instructed to "argue the matter" with the English Commander. But reasoning was useless in the absence of De Ruyter. Avoiding discussion, Nicolls answered that the question of right did not concern him;—it must be decided by the King of England and the States-General. He was determined to take the place; and if the reasonable terms he had offered were not accepted, he would attack the City, for which purpose, at the end of forty-eight hours, he would bring his forces up nearer. "On Thursday, the fourth," he added, "I will speak with you at the Manhattans." The Dutch deputies replied: "Friends will be welcome if they come in a friendly manner." "I shall come with my ships and soldiers," said Nicolls, "and he will be a bold messenger, indeed, who shall then dare to come on board and solicit terms." To the demand of Stuyvesant's delegates: "What then is to be done?" he answered, "Hoist the white flag of peace at the Fort, and then I may take something into consideration!"†

* Col. Doc., II. 248, 372, 410, 432, 434, 438, 439, 440, 441, 443, 446, 475, 494, 505; Val. Man., 1860, 592, 1861, 603-605; New Amsterdam Records, V. 552-554, 567-570; Albany Records, XVIII. 319; Letter of Domine Samuel Drisius, of 15 September, 1664; Appendix, Notes G. and H.

† Col. Doc., II. 411-414; Smith, I. 18-26; Hazard's Reg. Penn., IV. 31, 41, 42;

Nicolls, indeed, had no wish to proceed to extremities. His summons was imperious, but his policy was to obtain a bloodless possession of the Dutch Province. He therefore authorized Winthrop to assure Stuyvesant that, if it should be surrendered to the King, there should be free intercourse with Holland in Dutch vessels, or a virtual suspension of the English navigation laws. This was communicated to Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam, on the same day that his messengers saw Nicolls at Gravesend. But all the persuasions of the Connecticut Governor could not move the patriotic Director. In vain did he tear in pieces Winthrop's friendly letter. The people, who soon learned the liberal offers of the English, became mutinous; work on the fortifications ceased; complaints against the West India Company were freely uttered; and it was pronounced impossible to defend the City, "seeing that to resist so many was nothing else than to gape before an oven."*

Perceiving that Stuyvesant was disposed to hold out, Nicolls ordered the squadron to move up from their anchorage near Gravesend, and reduce the Dutch "under His Majesty's obedience." Again messengers came down from New Amsterdam, proposing a cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of Commissioners to treat about "a good accommodation." The English commander replied that he would willingly appoint Commissioners "to treat upon Articles of Surrender." At the solicitation of the Dutch delegates, orders were given that the ships should not precipitately fire on the city. But Nicolls declined

Val. Man., 1860, 592; Albany Records, XVIII. 319, 320, XXII. 317; Appendix, Note G.

* Gen. Ent., I. 12; Mass. H. S. Coll., XXXVI. 527-529; Col. Doc., II. 444, 445, 476. The original draft of Winthrop's letter to Stuyvesant, of 22 August (1 September), 1664, with the autograph approval of the Royal Commissioners, Nicolls, Carr, and Cartwright, is in the possession of Mr. Benjamin Robert Winthrop, one of the Vice-Presidents of the New York Historical Society, who is a lineal descendant of both the New Netherland and Connecticut Governors.

their request that his troops should not be brought up nearer. "To-day I shall arrive at the Ferry," he added, —"to-morrow we can agree with one another."*

On Thursday, the twenty-fifth of August (or the fourth of September), the British infantry, consisting of three companies of regular soldiers, eager for loot, were accordingly landed at Gravesend, whence Nicolls marched at their head to "the Ferry," at Brooklyn, where the New England and Long Island militia were already posted. Two of the frigates then sailed up the Bay, and anchored near "Nutten," or Governor's Island. The other two—coming on with full sail, and all their guns, of one battery, ready to pour their broadsides on the "open place," if any hostilities should be begun against them—passed in front of Fort Amsterdam, and anchored above the City. Watching their approach from a parapet of the Fort, Stuyvesant was about to order his gunner to fire on the enemy, when the two Domines Megapolensis, leading him away between them, persuaded him not to begin hostilities. Leaving fifty men in the Fortress, under the command of the Fiscal De Sille, the Director, at the head of one hundred of the garrison, marched out into the City, in order to prevent the English from attempting to land "here and there."†

By this time the Dutch garrison in Fort Amsterdam had become "demoralized." They openly talked of "where booty is to be got, and where the young women live who wear chains of gold." Reports also came from Long Island, that the New England levies declared that "their business was not only with New Netherland, but with the booty and plunder." Their threats caused the burghers

* Gen. Ent., I. 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 27, 28; Alb. Rec., XVIII. 321; Col. Doc., II. 414; Hazard's Reg. Penn., IV. 31, 42, 43; Smith, I. 27; S. Smith's New Jersey, 40, 41, 42; Brodhead, I. 740.

† Col. Doc., II. 414, 422, 444, 445, 501, 502, 503, 508, 509; Val. Man., 1860, 592; Letter of Drisius; Appendix, Notes G. and H.

of New Amsterdam to look upon them as "deadly enemies, who expected nothing else than pillage, plunder, and bloodshed." Moreover, it was understood that six hundred Northern Indians, and one hundred and fifty French privateersmen, with English commissions, had offered their services against the Dutch. Seeing that it was impossible to defend the place, the whole population of which was only fifteen hundred, against a powerful squadron and more than a thousand well-armed foes, the municipal authorities, the clergy, the officers of the burgher-guard, and most of the leading citizens, joined in a Remonstrance, drafted by the elder Domine Megapolensis, urging the Director and Council to accept the terms offered by the English commander. His threats, it stated, "would not have been at all regarded, could your Honors, or we your Petitioners, expect the smallest aid or succour. But, God help us! whether we turn for assistance to the north or to the south, to the east or to the west, it is all vain! On all sides we are encompassed and hemmed in by our enemies." Women and children came in tears, beseeching Stuyvesant to parley. To all their supplications he replied: "I had much rather be carried out dead!"*

At length, almost solitary in his heroism, the Dutch Director was obliged to yield. Further opposition on his part would have been unavailing, and might have deprived the people of the advantages to be gained by a capitulation. It was some solace that the English Commander, now encamped at the Brooklyn Ferry, "before the Manhatans," voluntarily offered to restore the Fort and the City, in case the differences about boundaries in America should be arranged between the King and the States-General. Moreover, Stuyvesant's religion consoled him with the text in Saint Luke, that with ten thousand men

* Alb. Rec., XVIII. 320, 321; Col. Doc., II. 248, 249, 369, 423, 476, 503, 508; Val. Man., 1860, 592; Letter of Drisius; Appendix, notes G. and H.

Rogers sc.

Conrad Steenmayer

he could not meet him that came against him with twenty thousand.* And if, in that bitter hour, the brave old chief could call to mind the classical learning which he had acquired in his Fatherland, he might well have applied to himself the sad words which the shade of Hector addressed to Æneas:

> "Could any mortal hand prevent our fate,
> This hand, and this alone, had saved the State."†

Six Commissioners were accordingly appointed on each side, on Friday, the twenty-sixth of August, or fifth of September, to settle the terms of surrender. Those on the part of the Dutch were John de Decker, Nicholas Varlett, and Samuel Megapolensis, representing the Director and Council, and Cornelis Steenwyck, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, and Jacques Cousseau, representing the City authorities. Besides his two colleagues, Sir Robert Carr and Colonel George Cartwright, Nicolls chose John Winthrop and Samuel Willys, of Connecticut, and Thomas Clarke and John Pynchon, of Massachusetts, in order to engage those two colonies more firmly with the Royal expedition, "if the Dutch had been over-confident of their strength." The commissioners on both sides met at Stuyvesant's "Bouwery," or farm, on Saturday, the twenty-seventh of August, or sixth of September, and arranged the Articles of Capitulation. All the inhabitants of New Netherland were to continue free denizens, and were guaranteed their property; while the Dutch were to enjoy "their own customs concerning their inheritances," and "the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline." Free trade with Holland was stipulated. The existing magistrates were to remain in office until their terms expired. The Articles of Capitula-

* Gen. Ent., I. 30, 31; Col. Doc., II. 440; Saint Luke's Gospel, xiv. 31; Appendix, note E.

† Pitt's translation of Virgil, Æneid, II.

tion were to be ratified on both sides, and exchanged on the next Monday morning, at the "Old Mill,"* on the East River, near what is now the foot of Roosevelt street, when the City and the Fort were to be surrendered, and the Dutch garrison were to march out, with arms shouldered, drums beating, colors flying, and matches lighted.†

These conciliatory and very advantageous terms were explained to the citizens at the Town Hall, on the following Sunday, at the close of the second service in the afternoon—the last which was expected to be celebrated under the Dutch flag—in Kieft's old church in Fort Amsterdam. It was also quietly agreed between Stuyvesant and Nicolls that the New England and Long Island auxiliaries should be kept at the Ferry, on the Brooklyn side of the East River; because the burghers "were more apprehensive of being plundered by them than by the others."‡

On Monday morning, the twenty-ninth of August, or eighth of September, Stuyvesant, having ratified the Capitulation, placed himself at the head of his garrison, and marched out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war. The Dutch soldiers, who saw no enemy, moved sullenly down Beaver street to the water-side, whence they were quickly embarked on the ship Gideon for Holland. Colonel Cartwright, with his company, now occupied the City gates and the Town Hall. Accompanied by the Burgomasters, who "gave him a welcome reception," Nicolls, at the head of his own and Sir Robert Carr's com-

* This "old mill" is distinctly marked on the map which forms one of the illustrations to Valentine's Manual for 1863. It was on the shore of the East River, at the mouth of a brook running out of the "Kolck," or what is now vulgarly called "the Collect," and it was the nearest point to "the Ferry," at Brooklyn. See Valentine's Manuals, 1859, 551, and 1863, 621; Brodhead, I. 167, *note*.

† Alb. Rec., XVIII. 325; Gen. Ent., I. 23–26, 30–33; Col. Doc., II. 250–253, 414, III. 103; Brodhead, I. 742, 762, 768; Hazard's Reg. Penn., IV. 43, 44; Appendix, note E.

‡ Alb. Rec., XVIII. 323, 324; Col. Doc., II. 445, 446.

panies, marched into the Fort. The English flag was run up; the name of the Fort was changed from Amsterdam to "JAMES," and the City was ordered to be called "NEW YORK." A few weeks afterwards Fort Orange was surrendered, and became "ALBANY," in commemoration of the Scotch title of the Proprietor. The conquered Province was named "NEW YORK." On Sunday, the second or twelfth of October, sixteen hundred and sixty-four, the Dutch Fort at Newcastle on the Delaware was taken by the English, and the entire reduction of New Netherland was accomplished.*

BROTHERS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Thus ended, two hundred years ago, the dominion of Holland over the fairest portion of our continent. Nine years afterwards, that dominion was triumphantly reconquered by the Dutch. But they held it only for a short period; and its temporary repossession by them had no important influence on Colonial affairs. The three-colored ensign,† which for half a century had rightfully waved over New Netherland, was replaced by the "meteor flag;" and, from Virginia to New France, all European colonists were obliged to acknowledge Charles the Second as their King. His usurpation of New York decided the fortunes of North America. It prepared the way for our national independence, and our federal Union. The history of our own State centres upon it, as the most important epoch in her colonial existence. Let us now

* Alb. Rec., XVIII. 326; Col. Doc., II. 272, 415, 445, 502, 509, III. 67-73, 346; Thompson, II. 165; Brodhead, I. 742-745; Val. Man., 1860, 593; Appendix, Notes F. and G.

† The Dutch national ensign was adopted about the year 1582, just after their Declaration of Independence, at the suggestion of William the Silent, Prince of Orange. It was composed of the Prince's colors—orange, white, and blue—arranged in three equal horizontal stripes. After the death of William the Second of Orange, in 1650, the predominating influence of the Louvestein, or De Witt party caused a *red* stripe to be substituted for the ancient *orange;* and the Dutch flag at this day remains as it was thus modified two centuries ago: Brodhead, I. 19, *note.*

contemplate some of the peculiar features and direct consequences of this momentous event.

The conquest of New Netherland by the British sovereign was an act of almost unparalleled national baseness. It was planned in secret, and was carried out in deliberate treachery towards a friendly government. Because England coveted New Netherland, and not because she had any just claim, she seized it as a prize. It was essential to the success of her colonial policy to secure that prize. The whole transaction was eminently characteristic of a selfish, insolent, and overbearing nation. On no other principle than that which frequently afterwards stimulated the predatory aggressions of Great Britain in India and elsewhere, can her conquest of the Dutch-American Province be defended. In the utterance of this judgment, I trust that a descendant of one of the English conquerors of New York has not been moved by any uncandid sentiments towards the birth-land of his ancestor.

Yet, outrageous as was the deed, the temptation to commit it was irresistible. Its actual execution was only a question of time. Unjustifiable as it was, the usurpation of the English could not have been prevented, unless the Dutch Government were prepared to reverse their previous policy, and hold New Netherland at every hazard, against the might of all enemies. The Province of Holland and the West India Company, alone, could not successfully oppose England. The General Government of the United Netherlands would not take the indispensable action, because they never rightly estimated the importance of their American colony, and felt no sufficient interest in its preservation. It was not until the last years of their rule, that they gave serious attention to the necessity of measures for its security. Even then, they procrastinated when they should have acted. This apparent indifference encouraged the monopolizing purposes

of British colonial statesmanship; and the Dutch transatlantic Province became an easy prey to undeclared foes, who skulked, like pirates in time of peace, into her chief harbor. War followed between the Netherlands and England; but the captured prize was never restored. And so, NEW YORK replaced NEW NETHERLAND on the map of the world.

But, even if its importance had been adequately estimated in Holland, our State could not have remained much longer a Dutch Province. Its existence as such would soon have proved inconvenient to all parties. It was not insular, nor easy of defence. Its territory adjoined the colonial possessions of France, as well as of England; and its inland frontier was not defined by natural boundaries. Sufficient measures for its protection against either of these powers would have required larger expenditures, on the part of the West India Company, than commercial thrift might have considered expedient. The States-General were less interested in its preservation than was the impoverished Corporation, which thought more of revenue than of patriotism. Moreover, the Federal Government would soon have found that another European sovereign, besides Charles the Second, viewed with jealousy the existence of a Dutch Province in North America. If England had not seized New Netherland when she did, France would almost certainly have taken and held it, not long afterwards, in the Second Dutch war of 1672; and would thus have accomplished her long-cherished design of extending Canada, from Lake Champlain southward, through the Valley of the Hudson, to the ocean at Manhattan. And had Louis the Fourteenth succeeded in obtaining its possession, the subserviency of Charles and of James would doubtless have so confirmed the French power on this continent, that neither the conquest of Canada by Great Britain, nor the American

Revolution, could have happened. Both these events depended on the fate of New Netherland. Even if the Province, after its reconquest in 1673, instead of being finally ceded to England by the Treaty of Westminster, in 1674, had remained subject to Holland for fifteen years longer, until Englishmen called the Dutch Stadtholder to their throne, the crisis would then have come; and our forefathers, following the fortunes of their chief, would have spontaneously proclaimed William the Third as their King, with acclamations as triumphant as when they first welcomed his short-lived colonial authority with shouts of "ORANJE BOVEN!"*

The terms of capitulation which Nicolls offered, and Stuyvesant accepted, were, perhaps, the most favorable ever granted by a conqueror. In theory, the King "resumed his own." In fact, he gained a foreign Province by a conquest, the effect of which was limited only by the Articles of Surrender. The clear policy of the Duke of York, as Proprietor, was to obtain peaceful possession of New Netherland, and, at the same time, induce its Dutch inhabitants to remain and become loyal British subjects. His defective Patent, indeed, authorized him to govern such subjects only. The Articles of Capitulation accordingly provided that the people of the Dutch Province were to continue free denizens of England. The most

* The popular cry, "*Oranje Boven*," appears to have originated at Dordrecht, in Holland, in 1672. The partisans of the Prince, and soon chosen Stadtholder, William the Third, who were the opponents of the Brothers De Witt, hoisted on the tower of that city an orange flag above a white flag. On the orange flag was the inscription, in Dutch,

> "*Oranje boven, de Witten onder;*
> *Die 't anders meend, die slaat den Donder.*"

Or, in English:

> "Orange above, the Whites under:
> Who thinks not so, be struck by thunder."

The Dutch word *wit* means "white;" hence *de Witten*, or "the De Witts," signifies "the Whites." Basnage, Ann. Prov. Un., II. 284; Wagenaar, Vad. Hist., XIV. 72, 165; Davies's Holland, III. 108.—New Netherland was reconquered by the Dutch, just after "*Oranje Boven*" came in vogue.

liberal offers, to conciliate them, were made with ostentatious benevolence. It is not surprising that the Dutch colonists, chagrined at the seeming indifference of the authorities of their Fatherland, and having many causes of complaint against their own Provincial Government, should have generally accepted this change of their rulers at least calmly and hopefully, if not with positive satisfaction.*

There was, at all events, one point on which there was almost universal acquiescence. As a choice of evils, the Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland were far more content with becoming subject directly to the King of England and the Duke of York, than they would have been with the mastery of those Eastern neighbors, who had so long, but so vainly, coveted the possession of their Province. This feeling we have observed strongly exhibited in the very agony of the surrender. It was a natural feeling. The early colonists of our State had but little liking for most of the emigrants to New England, or their characteristics. If they sympathized with any of them, it was chiefly with the people of tolerant Rhode Island. The genial English cavalier was much nearer the Hollander's heart than was the ascetic English Puritan, who would not be comforted in his exile by the calm pleasures of a Leyden Sunday. Across the Atlantic, local circumstances produced deeper repugnance. New York and Massachusetts—rivals and antagonists nearly from the start—were colonized by men not only of different races,

* In October, 1664, a few weeks after the surrender, Governor Nicolls required all the Dutch inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to the King, and of obedience to the Duke of York and his officers, as long as they should live in any of his Majesty's territories. The leading burghers of New York, however—fearing that the proposed oath might "nullify or render void" the Articles of Capitulation—declined to swear it, until the Governor formally declared "that the Articles of Surrender are not in the least broken, or intended to be broken, by any words or expressions in the said oath." This removed every doubt, and allegiance was cordially sworn.—Gen. Ent., I. 49, 50; New Amst. Rec., V. 614–618; Val. Man. 1861, 605–607; Col. Doc., III. 74–77.

but of essentially opposite ideas. The cardinal principle of the one was comprehensive liberality; the systematic policy of the other was Procrustean rigor. There never was a greater contrast in the civilized peoples of the earth. Thus it happened that there was almost constant enmity between the Dutch Province and her Puritan neighbors. This early antipathy was, doubtless, largely increased by those territorial encroachments which were so offensively pushed on from the East. Yet the contrariety survived long after the question of boundaries was settled. It continued to manifest itself most conspicuously, in what frequently appeared to be a meddlesome and callous obtrusiveness on the one side, which was met, on the other, by the decorous reserve which the rules of good society promote. In the end, it was well that such characteristic differences existed. With more intimate association, each rival race learned to respect and to value the excellencies which distinguished the other. Narrow provincialism grew more magnanimous with larger observation; and while but few were found willing to abandon the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, crowds pressed from New England, in later years, to irresistibly attractive homes in New York—none the less gladly because of the unjealous greeting which welcomed their approach. The acute ingenuity, anxious energy, and austere virtues, which were thus contributed by its immigrants from the East, blended admirably with the steady industry, quiet conservatism, and grand comprehensiveness, which always marked the pioneers of our own State; and the combination has yielded results of magnificent prosperity, which God grant may be perpetual!

It was for the true interest of America that New York was founded by the Batavian race. That founding produced our own magnanimous and cosmopolitan State, the influence of which on our nation has always been so happy

and so healthful. Providence never meant our variegated country to be the antitype of a single European sovereignty. There probably never was a population more homogeneous than that of New England in its early days. Of the twenty thousand persons who, at the end of twenty years after the first settlement at New Plymouth, formed its several colonies, nearly all were English emigrants, and most of them were Puritans. For more than a century their descendants lived and multiplied, a distinct people, secluded from other communities in a very remarkable degree. This seclusion generated or stimulated vehemently dogmatic individualism. It helped, very powerfully, to produce what is sometimes called the "intense subjectivity" of the New England mind. The result was legitimate. The British Puritan loved true liberty less than he loved dominion. He wished always to do what pleased himself; but he longed, still more, to compel all others to do as he pleased. He was uneasy unless he could domineer. This tyrannical and unscrupulous, but thoroughly English spirit was not softened by its transplantation in America. It seems, on the contrary, to have grown more rank, and to have developed peculiar social characteristics, in the secluded New England colonies. Of these characteristics, none was more remarkable than the system of "mutual inspection," which, pushed to its extreme limits, would subject all to a discipline as galling as it is unwholesome and dwarfing. "The Inquisition," writes one of Massachusetts' most honored sons, "existed in substance, with a full share of its terrors and its violence."* It is obvious that liberality, magnanimity, and comprehensiveness, could not flourish among a people so isolated, and so incessantly occupied in brooding over, and working out within itself, its own problems. Yet, I would be the last to withhold an expression of sincere

* Story's Miscellanies, 66; Coit's Puritanism, 218; Brodhead, I, 208, 331.

respect, justly due to the many sterling qualities which illustrate that renowned stock, the descendants of which have exerted so wide and so marked an influence throughout our whole country.

When he emigrated, however, the New Englander did not readily lay aside his native peculiarities. He yearned to propagate unmodified his ingrained provincialism. But this he could not do in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of New York. That he could not, was happy for our country. It was not her cramped destiny to perpetuate or reproduce the ideas or the policy of only one of the nationalities of the Old World, or of but one of its plantations in the New. The arrogant claim—so flattering to British pride, so sycophantic in Americans who would flatter England—that the United States of America are of wholly Anglo-Saxon origin, is as fallacious as it is vulgar. "Time's noblest offspring" was not the child of England alone. There was a Fatherland, as fruitful as the Motherland. There were many parents of our multigenerous people. The great modern Republic sprang from a union of races as various and contrasted as the climates from which, and to which, they emigrated. Sweden, Holland, Germany, Savoy, Spain, France, Scotland, and Ireland, all co-operated, no less mightily than England, in peopling our territory, moulding our institutions, and creating our vast and diversified country, "one and indivisible." To its heterogeneousness, and not to its supposed homogeneousness—to its collisions and its comminglings of races—to its compromises and its concessions—does that country owe its grandest moral, social, and political characteristics.

Among these various races, the Batavian founders of New York marked their impress deep upon their State and upon the confederated nation. The motives to their emigration were different from those which led to the

colonization of other American territories. They had suffered no persecution in their tolerant Fatherland. They left its shores not as refugees, but as volunteers—not to seek "Freedom to worship God" for themselves, and deny it to others—not to establish inquisitorial dogmatism, but to live, and let others live, in comfort. "Not as the conqueror comes," came the unaggressive forefathers of our State. The plain-spoken and earnest, yet unpresumptuous men who first explored and reclaimed New Netherland, and bore the flag of Holland to the cabins of the Iroquois, crossed the ocean to better their condition, and add another far-off Province to the Dutch Republic. They remembered, with deep affection, the great history of the little country they had left; and with their household gods, they carried

"The wreaths and relics of the immortal fire."*

They hoped, perhaps, that in time they might rear, among the rocks, and the maples, and the pine-trees on the banks of the River of the Mountains, "the Exchange of a wealthier Amsterdam, and the schools of a more learned Leyden."† They gave to their new abodes among the red men of the forest, the names which they had loved in their distant Belgian homes. Born in that "hollow land," rescued from the sea, where the first lessons of childhood taught them self-reliance and industry, they brought over into the wilderness those thrifty national habits which soon made it to bloom and blossom as the rose. Longer lines of barges than ever crowded the Batavian canals, are now drawn through those magnificent channels from the lakes to the ocean, which the experience of Holland suggested, and the enterprise of her sons helped to construct. Distinguished by that modesty which generally accompanies merit, the Dutch pioneers of New York

* Dryden's Æneid, II. † Macaulay, I. 219.

made no loud-sounding pretensions to grandeur in purpose, superiority in character, or eminence in holiness. They were the very opposites of the Pharisees of ancient or of modern times. They were more ready to do than to boast; and their descendants have never been ambitious to arrogate and appropriate excessive praise for what their forefathers did in extending the limits of Christendom, and in stamping on North America its resplendent features of freedom of religion and liberality in political faith. With the magnanimous ideas, and honest maxims, and homely virtues of their Fatherland, they transplanted her national Church and her public Schools, her accomplished "Domines" and her well-educated Schoolmasters. The huge clasped Bibles, issued from her proverbially elegant press, were preserved as venerable heir-looms in their families. The system of free public or common Schools—in which New England takes no less pride than New York—was borrowed, or imitated, from the Dutch Republic, where the exiled Puritans saw it for the first time in successful operation, through the influence of her Calvinistic national Church.* The holidays of the Netherlands, observed by us here to this day, renew the genial and hallowed anniversaries of "Paas" and "Saint Nicholas;" while, year by year, the people of New York are invited to render thanks to God, as their forefathers were invited to keep "Thanksgiving Day" in Holland, long before Manhattan was known, and while New England was yet "a rocky desart."† Those forefathers fearlessly deposed the King of Spain, while they humbly worshipped the King of kings. The children of such ancestors added no weak ingredient to the blended masses of our Union!

Yet while Hollanders formed the chief element in her

* Davies's Holland, II. 202, 203; Bor., XX. 672; Brodhead, I. 462, 463.
† Smith's New England; Pinkerton, XIII. 206; Brodhead, I. 41, 64, 443, 747.

population, New Netherland enjoyed the advantage of a happy intermixture of other European races. Her first settlers, imbued with the liberal sentiments of their ancestral land, viewed free navigation and free trade as the solvent of national antipathies. Accordingly, without regarding diversities in doctrine or lineage, they made the hearth-stone the test of citizenship, and residence and loyalty the only obligations of the multifarious nationalities which soon came to nestle among them. Walloons from Flanders, Huguenots and Waldenses from France and Savoy, Swedes, German Lutherans, wandering Israelites, Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, and English Quakers, all planted themselves, more or less quietly, beside the natives of Calvinistic Holland. Marvell's Lines on Old Amsterdam might almost describe her trans-Atlantic child, which with

> "Christian, Pagan, Jew,
> Staple of sects and mint of schism grew;
> That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
> Opinion, but finds credit and exchange.
> In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear:
> The universal church is only there."

As early as 1643, the Jesuit Father Jogues—that illustrious apostle who consecrated with his life the "Mission of the Martyrs" among the Mohawks at Caghnawaga*—found that eighteen different languages were spoken in New Amsterdam. There was always popular freedom and public spirit enough in the Dutch Province to attract voluntary emigrants from the neighboring British Colonies. If the Fatherland gave asylum to self-exiled English Puritans, New Netherland as liberally sheltered refugees from the intolerant governments on her eastern

* The Indian word "Caghnawaga" means "the Rapids," or "a carrying-place;" Col. Doc., III. 250, *note;* General Index, 282; Shea's Catholic Missions, 304; N. Y. H. S. Coll., III. (II.) 171; Brodhead, I. 423, 659. I cannot refrain from protesting against the hideous want of taste which has belittled this sonorous, significant, and historical name into "Fonda!"

frontier. Her magnificent destiny, foretold in Holland,* began to be accomplished, when numbers, looking to her with eager eyes, were allured to embark for her shore. Far across the sea came crowded ships from Scotland, and France, and Ireland; while from the upper waters of the Rhine flocked multitudes of a kindred race to those at its mouth, who first chose Manhattan as their home. Here, on our own rocky island—the Tyre of the New World—where Dutch sagacity, integrity, liberality, and industry laid the foundations—Saxon and Celt, Frenchman and German, Jew and Gentile, Northerner and Southerner—men of all races, and tongues, and climes, and creeds, have worked together to build up the golden throne of Commerce. New Amsterdam was but the miniature of New Netherland, and the prototype of cosmopolitan New York. And so, with large and comprehensive spirit, our Dutch forefathers established the grandeur of that imperial State whose

"Far-off coming shone."†

But if it was for the true interest of America that New York should be founded by Holland, it was equally for the greatest good of the greatest number that she should be acquired by England. She could not long have remained an isolated dependency of the Dutch Republic. The time was not yet at hand for her own State Independence. Nor was it the purpose of Providence that New Netherland should ever become a separate American Sovereignty. Her central and commanding position, her picturesqueness, variety, and universality, all foreshadowed her grand destiny—forever to bind together the North and the South, and to unite with the Ocean the Lakes and the Prairies of a future vast and undivided country. To

* *Ante*, page 17.

† The Arms of the State of New York, adopted in 1778, represent the Sun rising over distant mountain-tops, and her significant motto is "EXCELSIOR."

that wise end, her colonial allegiance was determined. If, instead of becoming the connecting link between the British American Plantations, our State had been annexed to Canada by Louis the Fourteenth, the Iroquois would have been rapidly exterminated; the dominion of France on this continent would have grown impregnable; no Wolfe would have scaled the heights of Abraham; and no such Revolution could have happened as that which produced our nation. New France, including the Valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, might yet have possessed her "broad-armed ports" at Quebec, Manhattan, and New Orleans; and a Bourbon might still have dated the instructions of his Vice-Roy at Versailles. Instead of Canada and Nova Scotia, New England and Virginia, deprived of the sympathy of New York, might perhaps, at this moment, have been receiving orders from Whitehall. But the confirmation of British supremacy in New Netherland was the augury of our national independence. The Fatherland had done all that the wisdom of the Almighty had given her to do in the work of American colonization. Thenceforward, her trans-Atlantic offspring was to become the ward of a severer guardian, whose fate it was—like that of Spain—to educate a new Republic of United States. This glorious consummation could not have begun, nor have been so wisely accomplished, if New York had not suffered in common with other colonies under the oppression which produced unanimous revolt; and if she had not taught her Confederates some of those exalting principles of political and religious liberality, which, preserving her through long generations untainted by fanaticism, have made her the majestic monument of her Batavian founders.

With the supremacy of England came a necessary change in the language, the laws, and the institutions of

New York. This change, however, was very gradual. The Articles of Capitulation happily restrained what otherwise might have been an insufferable exercise of the conqueror's power. Guaranteed their own religious worship and church discipline, the Dutch, in due time, cordially welcomed the Service of the Church of England.* Freedom of conscience was forever secured by the influence of the ancient Reformed Dutch Church, which effectually prevented the establishment of any one denomination as "The Church" of the Province. The Episcopal communion, although fostered by the servants of the Crown, never became her predominating sect.† This was owing, in a great degree, to the high personal and scholarly standing of the Dutch clergymen, of whom a regular succession, educated and ordained in Holland, continued to be sent over until 1772, when the ecclesiastical authority of the Classis of Amsterdam ceased.‡ The cosmopolitan character of New York was but made more permanent by the bloodless revolution, which, preserving the old, infused fresh elements among the original staples of her greatness. Relieved from the anxiety that for some time had been oppressing them, her people, as they grew in

* The Charter of Trinity Church could hardly have passed Fletcher's Council on the 6th of May, 1697, without the friendship of its Dutch members, Phillipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard; Council Minutes, VII. 236; Doc. Hist. N. Y., III. 249.

† The Colonial act of 22 September, 1693, was passed by an Assembly in which there was only one Episcopalian, and which never thought of establishing that denomination as the Provincial Church. In point of fact the Episcopal Church never was established, except in some of the Southern counties of the Province. See Col. Doc., V. 321, 322; Doc. Hist., III. 150, 151; Smith's New York, I. 131, 134, 187, 337, 339, II. 234; Sedgwick's Life of Livingston, 78, 88; Force's Tracts, IV. (IV.) 3, 35, 40, 52.

‡ See Verplanck, in N. Y. H. S. Collections, III. 89; Gunn's Memoirs of the Reverend John H. Livingston, D. D., 141, 142 (Ed. 1856.) Demarest, in his "History and Characteristics of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church," p. 96, remarks that "She, of all Churches in the land, was least able to succeed without an educated ministry, for she had been always taught to consider this as essential. It was required by the Articles of Union, that provision should be made for it. Moreover, the Church in Holland would not consent to the independence of the American Churches until this had been guaranteed."

prosperity, remembered with fading regret the event, which, although it severed them politically from Holland, could never take from them the heritage of her virtues, her teachings, and her historical renown.

By becoming British subjects, the inhabitants of New Netherland did not, however, gain civil freedom. New names, they found, did not secure new liberties. "Amsterdam" was changed to YORK, and "Orange" to ALBANY. But these changes only commemorated the titles of a conqueror. Stuyvesant, and the West India Company, and a republican sovereignty, were exchanged for Nicolls, and a Royal Proprietor, and an hereditary King. The Province was not represented in Parliament; nor could her voice reach the chapel of Saint Stephen at Westminster, as readily as it had penetrated the chambers of the Binnenhof at the Hague. It was nearly twenty years before her Ducal Proprietor allowed, for a short time, to the people of New York even that faint degree of representative government which they had enjoyed when the three-colored ensign of Holland was hauled down from the flag-staff of Fort Amsterdam. Not until the authority of the British Crown was shaken, did New York become again as really free as New Netherland had been.

There was one remarkable feature in which our State differed from every other British-American dependency. A conquest from Holland, she became for twenty-one years a Proprietary Dukedom, and then, for nearly a century, she remained a Royal Province. Without a charter, like those of Maryland or Pennsylvania, New York resembled none of the New England colonies, except, perhaps, New Hampshire. It was not until after the accession of the Dutch Stadtholder to the English throne, that she permanently obtained the privilege of an Assembly elected by her freeholders. Even then, her Governor and her Counsellors were appointed directly by the King.

This circumstance, in connection with others peculiar to her original colonization, fastened upon New York a distinctive quality of social aristocracy, which survived the period of her Independence. It was perhaps owing to these causes, that so few comparatively of her Puritan neighbors came to add to her colonial population. New England and the north of Ireland contributed, at one time, considerable numbers. But her largest accessions of emigrants, during the reigns of William, Anne, and the Georges, besides Englishmen and Hollanders, were French Huguenots and German Calvinists and Lutherans. Most of the latter were refugees from the Palatinate, who settled themselves on the Hudson and the Mohawk Rivers. West of Herkimer, the country was possessed by the Iroquois; and it was not until long after our State Constitution was formed at Kingston, in 1777, that emigrants from New England ventured to push beyond the German Flats, and occupy the rich pastures of Onondaga and the Genesee. North of the north line of Massachusetts, New York remained for many years the true owner of the region west of the Connecticut, and she thus became the mother of the present State of Vermont. Her original territory, as defined by the Dutch Government in 1614, was so partitioned, in the progress of events, as to form the several States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Little did the quiet men who, in the Binnenhof at the Hague, first placed the name of NEW NETHERLAND on the map of the world, anticipate that it would become the parent of such a noble progeny of sovereignties!

To all the changes which followed its conquest, the Dutch colonists of our State submitted with characteristic good faith. A few, who could not bear the separation, returned to end their days in their Fatherland. But

Stuyvesant, with the Dutch clergy and most of the colonial officers, honestly swore allegiance to the King and to the Duke, and remained faithful as long as English supremacy lasted.* No more loyal subjects than they were ever brought under the British crown. Yet it was no pleasant thing for them to watch the Red Cross of England waving where the emblems of the Netherlands had floated for fifty years. To Holland they felt a deep, unalterable, hereditary attachment. Nor has the whirligig of time extinguished this sentiment in their descendants. Two centuries have scarcely weakened the veneration which citizens of New York of Dutch lineage proudly cherish towards the birth-land of their ancestors. Year by year, the glorious and the genial memories of Holland are renewed by those whom long generations divide from the country of their forefathers. But it is generally true, that Colonists retain more affection towards their Fatherland than those who remain at home ever feel toward the emigrants who leave its shores. As years roll on, the contrast becomes more marked. Two centuries have almost wiped out of the recollection of Holland the once familiar name of New Netherland. A few of the more curious of her scholars and her statesmen may now and then, by careful search, discover the meagre paragraphs in which her ponderous histories dismiss the story of her ancient trans-Atlantic Province. The most complete separate sketch of it in the Dutch language is the work of a Zealander,† which, though written not many years ago, is already a literary rarity. But the people of the Low Countries scarcely know that New York was once their own New Netherland, or that they have any right to the glory of having laid the foundations of the mightiest State in the American Union, and the metropolis of the Western world!

* See *ante*, p. 41, *note*.

† N. C. Lambrechtsen, of Middelburg.

While it is thus to be regretted that the history of New Netherland should be so little known in Holland, it is still more discreditable that, until recently, it continued to be as little understood, and perhaps even less appreciated, in America. There is no State in our Union which has better reason to be proud of its annals than New York. Yet of no State were the beginnings left for generations in greater obscurity. Official records and original accounts by contemporary writers have never, indeed, been wanting. But these were generally like sealed books, written in the vernacular—almost unknown to Englishmen—of William the Silent, and Grotius, and Barneveldt. The only colonial historian of New York, after its conquest, was a Royalist of English descent.* His meagre outline of its first half-century seems to have encouraged a former Chancellor of our own State incautiously to tell us, thirty-six years ago, that the annals of its Dutch period "are of a tame and pacific character, and generally dry and uninteresting."† The remark might have been somewhat just, if it had been applied—not to their quality, but—to the disgracefully neglected condition in which our earliest archives were formerly suffered to remain.‡ If the sources of history were thus sealed, it is not surprising that History herself should have been silent. Like the many brave men who died before Agamemnon, the modest founders of New York for a long time slept,

> "Unwept, unknown:
> No bard had they to make all time their own."§

This is doubtless owing, in some degree, to ignorance

* William Smith, who died in 1793, Chief-Justice of Canada.

† Chancellor Kent, in N. Y. H. S. Coll., (II.) I. 13.

‡ I avail myself of this opportunity to express gratification that Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan has been, of late years, in charge of the Historical Records of our State at Albany. He is one of the very few who are fitted for the peculiar office of Archivist; and it would be a calamity if the public should be deprived of the advantage of his services.

§ Francis's Translation of Horace's Odes, IV. 9.

of the Dutch language, which few English or American authors have ever attempted to master. But it is still more owing to an inherited or imitative spirit of supercilious depreciation of every thing Dutch, which, with some brilliant exceptions, seems to have infected so many writers in our own country, especially those of New England.* It is the good fortune of that section of our land to possess abundant easily read records of the deeds and virtues of her founders; and it is greatly to her comfort that so many of her children have done their best to extol her glory and spread abroad her fame. Yet, while a monotonous repetition of indiscriminating panegyric may gratify its subjects, it does not always enlarge human knowledge. It may well be questioned whether zeal has not run into injustice, and whether, while incessantly magnifying the praise of one portion of our Union, a candid acknowledgment of the merits of others has not been systematically shunned. The Tacitus of our country, in the grandeur of his comprehensive genius, has not failed to do eloquent justice to the honest memories of New York, his chosen home. But too many of our approved authorities and school-books, professing to teach American history, seem as if they were carefully calculated for a provincial meridian, and cunningly manufactured to inculcate only accounts of New England. The beginnings of the Empire State are passed ignorantly by; or, if they are alluded to, it is too often in niggard or reluctant words, unworthy of any scholar who ventures to relate our country's story. The patriotic calendar of America has pertinaciously canonized the little company which landed on Plymouth beach; while it has jealously suppressed a just reference to

* Everett and Bancroft are national jewels. Motley has done immortal honor to New England and to himself by his admirable Dutch histories. Not less worthily has Tuckerman, in his "Optimist," and his "Biographical Essays," shown that just appreciation of New York and her characteristics which a scholar of his fine taste and cultivation could not help exhibiting.

the progeny of those who, long before they sheltered that Pilgrim band at Leyden, had showed the world how to depose a King and declare a People free and independent.

The retirement of Holland from an unequal strife, left France and Spain to contend with England for colonial supremacy in North America. Mistress of all the Atlantic coast between Nova Scotia and Florida, the power which had conquered New York soon aspired to uncontrolled dominion from sea to sea. The acquisition of New Netherland, which had formerly kept Virginia apart from New England, gave to the British Crown the mastery of the most advantageous position on our Continent, whence it could at pleasure direct movements against any Colony that might attempt a premature independence. With short-sighted triumph, England rejoiced that her authority was dotted on a new spot in the map of the world. But her pride went before her destruction, and her haughty spirit prepared the way for her terrible humiliation. The American Republic was fashioned in the first Congress of 1765, which met at New York. It was a most significant, but only a just decree of Providence, that the retribution of England should begin with the very Province which she had so iniquitously ravished from Holland, to set, as her most splendid jewel, in the diadem of her colonial sovereignty!

Yet for a long time the Plantations which had thus become geographically united were neither homogeneous nor sympathetic; and they never were actually consolidated. While New England, Maryland, and Virginia were radically Anglo-Saxon Colonies, the mass of the population of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, which had formed the later territory of New Netherland, was, as we have seen, made up of Hollanders, Huguenots, Waldenses, Germans, Frenchmen, Swedes, Scotchmen,

and Irishmen. A similar want of homogeneousness characterized some of the more Southern Colonies. Among these manifold nationalities, ideas and motives of action were as various and discordant as the differing dialects which were uttered. In the progress of years, a common allegiance and common dangers produced a greater sympathy among the English Plantations in North America.

Nevertheless, while she formed a part of the British Colonial Empire, New York never lost her original social identity nor her peculiar political influence. Her moral power lasted throughout the whole succession of events which culminated in the American Revolution. It is impossible for me now to attempt a fitting historical review of this demonstrable truth. It is enough to say that, if the legitimate influence of New York has not heretofore been always worthily acknowledged, it has never been openly denied. Nor has her salutary moral power ever ceased. The history of her Fatherland—besides the idea of toleration of opinion—furnished the example of the Confederation of Free and Independent States, and made familiar the most instructive lessons of Constitutional administration. While that history taught the sacred right of revolt against the tyranny of an hereditary King, it enforced the no less sacred duty of faithfulness to deliberate obligations, and loyalty to the General Government founded by the solemn compact of Sovereign but United States. The patriots who deposed Philip the Second were the great originals of those who in the next century dethroned Charles the First, and in the century following rejected George the Third. From Holland came William, "the Deliverer" of England from the tyrant James. The Declaration of the Independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands was the glorious model of the English Declaration of Right, and of the grander Declaration of the Independence of the United

Colonies of North America. The Union of Utrecht was the noble exemplar of the Philadelphia Articles of Confederation. The Dutch motto, "EENDRAGT MAAKT MAGT"—*Unity makes might*—suggested our own "E PLURIBUS UNUM."

All these teachings of Dutch history are the peculiar heritage of our own Empire State. It was the proud destiny of New York to temper the narrow and sometimes fanatical characteristics of her English sister Plantations with the larger and more conservative principles which she had herself derived from Holland. It was her lot to sustain more severe trials, and gain a more varied experience, than any other American Colony. Midway between the Saint Lawrence and the Chesapeake, she stood, for almost a century, guarding her long frontier against the enmity and might of New France. And when at last the Conquest of Canada filled the measure of British aggression, and pampered still more the British lust of power, the augury of two hundred years ago was fulfilled, and NEW YORK—worthy to be distinguished as THE NETHERLAND OF AMERICA—became the Pivot Province, on which hinged the most important movements of that sublime revolt against the oppression of England, the only parallel to which was the triumphant struggle that the forefathers of her first settlers maintained against the gigantic despotism of Spain!

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Translation of the first NEW NETHERLAND Charter, granted by the STATES GENERAL, on 11 October, 1614;—from Mr. Brodhead's Address before the N. Y. Historical Society, 20 November, 1844, p. 53, and from the New York Colonial Documents, volume I. pages 10–12.

SATURDAY, the Eleventh of October, 1614.
Present—The President, Mr. GHIESSEN.
Messrs. BIESMAN, WESTERHOLT, BRIENEN, OLDEN BARNEVELT, BERCKENRODE, DRIEL, TEYLINGEN, MAGNUS, MOESBERGEN, AYLOA, HEGEMANS.

THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS to all to whom these presents shall come, GREETING: Whereas Gerrit Jacobz Witsen, ancient Burgomaster of the City of Amsterdam, Jonas Witsen and Simon Monissen, owners of the ship named the *Little Fox*, whereof Jan de With was schipper; Hans Hongers, Paulus Pelgrom, and Lambrecht van Tweenhuysen, owners of the two ships named the *Tiger* and the *Fortune*, whereof Adriaen Block and Henrick Corstiaenssen were schippers; Arnolt van Leybergen, Wessel Schenck, Hans Claessen, and Berent Sweertsen, owners of the ship named the *Nightingale*, whereof Thys Volckertssen was schipper, merchants of the aforesaid City Amsterdam; and Pieter Clementssen Brouwer, Jan Clementssen Kies, and Cornelis Volckertssen, merchants of the City of Hoorn, owners of the ship named the *Fortuyn*, whereof Cornelis Jacobssen May was schipper, All now associated in one Company, Have respectfully represented unto Us, that they the Petitioners, after heavy expenses and great damages to themselves by loss of ships and other dangers, had, during the present current year, discovered and found, with the above-named five ships, certain New Lands, lying in America, between *New France* and *Virginia*, the sea-coasts whereof lie between Forty and Forty-five degrees of latitude, and now called NEW NETHERLAND: And Whereas We did, in the month of March last, for the promotion and increase

of Commerce, cause to be published a certain General Consent and Charter, setting forth that whosoever should thereafter discover new havens, lands, places, or passages, might frequent, or cause to be frequented, for four voyages, such newly-discovered and found places, passages, havens, or lands, to the exclusion of all others from visiting or frequenting the same from the United Netherlands, until the said first discoverers and finders, shall themselves have completed the said four voyages, or caused the same to be done within the time prescribed for that purpose, under the penalties expressed in the said Charter,* &c., They pray that We would accord to them a proper Act to be passed in form, in pursuance of the aforesaid Charter; Which being considered, and WE having, in Our Assembly, heard the pertinent Report of the Petitioners relative to the discovery and finding of the said New Countries between the above-named limits and degrees, and also of their adventures, Have Consented and Granted, and by these presents Do consent and Grant, to the said petitioners, now united into One Company, that they shall be privileged exclusively to frequent or cause to be visited the above Newly-discovered Lands, situate in America, between *New France* and *Virginia*, whereof the sea-coasts lie between the Fortieth and the Forty-fifth degrees of latitude, now named NEW NETHERLAND (as can be seen by a Figurative Map hereunto annexed†), and that for four voyages within the term of Three Years, commencing the First of January Sixteen Hundred and Fifteen, next ensuing or sooner; without it being permitted to any other person from the United Netherlands to sail to, navigate, or frequent the said newly-discovered lands, havens, or places, either directly or indirectly, within the said three years, on pain of Confiscation of the vessel and cargo wherewith infraction hereof shall be attempted, and a fine of Fifty Thousand Netherland Ducats, for the benefit of the aforesaid discoverers or finders:—Provided, Nevertheless, that by these presents We do not intend to prejudice or diminish any of Our former Grants or Charters; And it is also Our intention that if any disputes or differences arise from these Our Concessions, they shall be decided by Ourselves:—We Therefore for this purpose expressly order and command all Governors, Justices, Officers, Magistrates, and inhabitants of the aforesaid United Lands, to allow the said Company peaceably and quietly to use and enjoy the whole benefit of this our Grant and Consent, refraining from all opposition and obstacles to the contrary: Inasmuch as we consider the same to be for the service and advantage of the country. Given under our Seal, and the Paraph and signature of our Secretary, at the Hague, the eleventh day of October, 1614.

* A translation of this Charter is in N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 5, 6.

† For a fac-simile of this map, see N. Y. Col. Doc., I. 13. See also the map compiled by Mr. Brodhead, for his History of New York, which illustrates this publication.

NOTE B.

New England writers, in their zeal to establish a paramount British title to the whole of North America between Virginia and Canada, appear to have overlooked the doctrine announced by Queen Elizabeth in 1580, and confirmed in the House of Commons in 1621, as stated *ante*, page 9. This doctrine was, that "*prescription without possession is of no avail;*" the logical consequence of which is, that the "prescription" arising from the voyages of the Cabots gave England no title except to such American territory, discovered by her subjects, as she might actually occupy. Under this rule, her title to Virginia was never questioned. But by King James's second Patent of May, 1609, the northern boundary of Virginia was fixed at about the fortieth parallel of latitude. The country between Virginia and Canada had been left a *vacuum domicilium*, after the abandonment of Maine by the Sagadahoc colonists in 1608. The discoveries of the Dutch in this intermediate and unknown region were followed by their permanent occupation of the most of it; and the only Englishman that seems to have visited NEW NETHERLAND, after those in the HALF MOON, was Dermer, in 1619. The New England Patent of November, 1620, by its express Proviso that no territory was intended to be granted which was "actually possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or Estate," would appear to have clearly excepted New France and New Netherland, the actual possession of which by the French and the Dutch was undeniable. Yet, with the coolest audacity, one of the preliminary recitals of that Patent declared that there were "no other the subjects of any Christian King or State, by any authority from their Sovereign Lords or Princes, actually in possession" of any of the territory between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degrees of latitude! In the same spirit, the English Privy Council, in December, 1621, pretended that the King had "good and sufficient title" to the whole of that region, "*jure primæ occupationis.*" If by this was meant the temporary and limited English "occupation" by the colony at Sagadahoc, it was a palpable absurdity; because that English "occupation" of a part of Maine was abandoned before the Dutch discovery of unknown New Netherland. To insist upon such a fallacy was simply to substitute "prescription" for "possession"—a doctrine which both Queen Elizabeth and Parliament had derided. Nevertheless, this transparent subterfuge of *constructive*, instead of *actual* possession, was the strongest ground upon which the English maintained their title as against the Dutch. See further on this subject, Brodhead's New York, I. 4, 15, 44, 92–96, 138–144, 189, 252, 633, 634; Hazard's Collections, I. 103–118; Trumbull's Connecti-

cut, I. 547, 554; N. Y. Colonial Documents, I. 27, II. 287, 302, 325, 332, 379–382, 389, 412, III. 6–8, VII. 596; Smith's N. Y., I. 297; Dunlap's N. Y., II., Appendix, ccvi.—It could hardly, perhaps, have been expected that the Editor of the recent volume on "Henry Hudson the Navigator," published by the Hakluyt Society of London, in 1860, should have avoided the errors which deform his Introduction to that work.

NOTE C.

Translation of the Commission from the STATES-GENERAL of the UNITED NETHERLANDS to PETER STUYVESANT, as Director-General of NEW NETHERLAND, dated 28 July, 1646:—from the New York Colonial Documents, vol. I. p. 178.

THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS.—To all those to whom these Presents shall come, or who shall hear them read, Health; BE IT KNOWN: Whereas we have deemed it advisable for the advancement of the affairs of the General Incorporated West India Company not only to maintain the trade and population on the coast of *New Netherland* and the places situate thereabout, also the islands *Curaçoa*, *Buenaire*, *Aruba*, and their dependencies, which have hitherto been encouraged thither from this country, but also to make new treaties and alliances with foreign Princes, and to inflict as much injury as possible on the enemy in his forts and strongholds, as well by sea as by land; For which purposes it becomes necessary to appoint a person Director: WE, Therefore, confiding in the probity and experience of Petrus Stuyvesant, formerly intrusted with our affairs in, and the government of, the aforesaid Island of Curaçoa and the places thereon depending, and We, being well pleased with his services there, Have commissioned and appointed and by these presents Do commission and appoint the said PETRUS STUYVESANT Director in the aforesaid countries of *New Netherland* and the places thereunto adjoining, together with the aforementioned Islands of *Curaçoa*, *Buenaire*, *Aruba*, and their dependencies; to administer, with the Council as well now as hereafter appointed with him, the said office of Director, both on water and on land, and in said quality to attend carefully to the advancement, promotion, and preservation of friendship, alliances, trade, and commerce; to direct all matters appertaining to traffic and war, and to maintain in all things there, good order for the service of the United Netherlands and the General West India Company; to establish regularity for the safeguard of the places and forts therein; to administer law and justice as well civil as criminal; And moreover to perform all that concerns his office and duties in accordance with the Charter and the general and particular Instructions herewith

given, and to be hereafter given him, as a good and faithful Director is bound and obliged by his oath in Our hands to do; Which done, WE, therefore, order and command all other officers, common soldiers, together with the inhabitants and natives residing in the aforesaid places as subjects, and all whom it may concern, to acknowledge, respect, and obey the said PETRUS STUYVESANT as our Director in the countries and places of *New Netherland*, and in the Islands of *Curaçoa*, *Buenaire*, *Aruba*, and their dependencies, and to afford all help, countenance and assistance in the performance of these things, as WE have found the same to be for the advantage of the Company. Done in our Assembly at the Hague, on the xxviii. July, 1646.

NOTE D.

Copy of the Commission from the DUKE OF YORK to Colonel RICHARD NICOLLS, dated 2 April, 1664, Recorded in Book of Patents, vol. I. pp. 116–118, in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany.

JAMES, Duke of YORK and ALBANY, Earl of ULSTER, Lord High Admiral of ENGLAND and IRELAND, &c., Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Governor of Portsmouth, &c. WHEREAS it hath pleased the King's most Excellent Majesty, my Sovereign Lord and Brother, by His Majesty's Letters Patents, bearing date at Westminster the *Twelfth* day of *March* in the Sixteenth year of His Majesty's Reign, to give and grant unto me and to my Heirs and Assigns, All that part of the mainland of New England, Beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of *Saint Croix*, next adjoining to *New Scotland* in America, and from thence extending along the sea-coast, unto a certain place called *Petaquine* or *Pemaquid*, and so up the River thereof to the furthest head of the same, as it tendeth Northwards, and extending from thence to the River of *Kinebequi*, and so upwards by the shortest course to the River *Canada* northwards; And Also all that Island or Islands commonly called by the several name or names of *Matowacks* or *Long Island*, situate, lying, and being towards the west of Cape Cod and the Narrow-Higansets, abutting upon the mainland, between the two rivers there, called or known by the several names of *Connecticut* and *Hudson's* River; Together also with the said River called *Hudson's* River and all the land from the West side of *Connecticut* River to the East side of *Delaware* Bay; And Also all those several Islands called or known by the name of *Martin's Vineyards* and *Nantukes* otherwise *Nantucket*; Together with all the Lands, Islands, Soiles, Rivers, Harbours, Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fish-

ing, Hawking, Hunting, and Fowling, and all other Royalties, Profits, Commodities, Hereditaments, to the said several Islands, Lands, and Premises belonging and appertaining, with their and every of their Appurtenances; To Hold the same to my own proper use and behoof, With Power to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule the Inhabitants thereof, by Myself, or such Deputies, Commissioners, or Officers as I shall think fit to appoint; as by His Majesty's said Letters Patents may more fully appear: AND Whereas I have conceived a good opinion of the Integrity, Prudence, Ability and Fitness of RICHARD NICOLLS, Esquire, to be employed as my Deputy there, I have therefore thought fit to constitute and appoint, And I do hereby constitute and appoint him the said *Richard Nicolls*, Esquire, to be my Deputy-Governor within the Lands, Islands, and Places aforesaid, To perform and execute all and every the Powers which are by the said Letters Patents granted unto me, to be executed by my Deputy, Agent, or Assign. TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said place of Deputy-Governor unto the said *Richard Nicolls*, Esquire, during my will and pleasure only; Hereby willing and requiring all and every the Inhabitants of the said Lands, Islands, and Places to give obedience to him the said *Richard Nicolls* in all things, according to the tenor of His Majesty's said Letters Patents; And the said *Richard Nicolls*, Esquire, to observe, follow and execute such Orders and Instructions as he shall from time to time receive from myself. GIVEN, under my hand and seal, at *Whitehall*, this *Second* day of *April*, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Charles* the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c., *Annoque Domini*, 1664.

JAMES. (L. S.)

By Command of His Royal Highness,

W. COVENTRY.

NOTE E.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND, $\frac{\text{26-29 AUGUST,}}{\text{5-8 SEPTEMBER,}}$ 1664.

Copy of Stuyvesant's full power to his Commissioners, dated $\frac{\text{26 August,}}{\text{5 September,}}$ 1664;—from Albany Records, XVIII. 322, 323, and General Entries, I. 30, 31.

THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL and COUNCIL OF NEW NETHERLAND hereby make known;—To prevent the effusion of blood, plundering, murders, and for the good of the inhabitants, We are moved by the summons made by the honored Lord Richard Nicolls, General of his Majestie of England,

being come with his men-of-war and soldiers before the port, promising freely (by his own proposition made) to re-deliver the Fort and City of Amsterdam in New Netherland, in case the difference of the limits of this Province be agreed upon betwixt His Majestie of England and the High and Mighty States-General; likewise upon other equal and answerable conditions, to surrender and deliver; We have committed and do commit by this, John de Decker, Counsellor of State; Captain Nicholas Verlett, Commissary concerning matters of traffic; Samuel Megapolensis, Doctor of Physick; Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomaster; Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, old Burgomaster; and James Cousseau, old Schepen of this City, to agree with the aforesaid Lord General Richard Nicolls or his deputies upon further articles; by these open letters promising that we will faithfully fulfill whatsoever shall by our fore-named Commissioners concerning these businesses be promised and agreed upon. In testimony of this it is confirmed by our Seale, in the Fort of Amsterdam in New Netherland, the 5th day of September, New Style, 1664.

Copy of Nicolls's full power to his Commissioners, dated $\frac{\text{26 August,}}{\text{5 September,}}$ 1664;—from General Entries, I. 32, 33.

I, Colonel RICHARD NICOLLS, Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesties forces now beleaguering the town on the Manhatans, Do accept of the proposal made by the Governor and his Council there residing, to treat of an accommodation by Articles of Surrender of the said Town and Forts thereunto belonging under His Majestie's obedience, to prevent the effusion of blood and to improve the good of the inhabitants; And whereas the Governor and Council are pleased to nominate and appoint John de Decker, Counsellor of State; Nicholas Varlett, Commissary concerning matters of traffic; Samuel Megapolensis, Doctor of Physick; Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomaster; Oloff Stevensen van Kortlandt, old Burgomaster; and James Cousseau, old Sheriffe of this City, to agree and conclude with me or my Deputies, upon further Articles, promising they will faithfully fulfill whatsoever shall be by their fore-named Commissioners promised or agreed upon in the Treaty on their partes, I Do Therefore, on my part, nominate and appoint Sir Robert Carr, Knight; Colonel George Cartwright; Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of His Majestie's Colony of Connecticut; Mr. Samuel Willys, one of the Chief Councill of the said Colony; Captain Thomas Clarke, and Captain John Pincheon, Commissioners from the Court Generall of the Colony of the Massachusetts, To be my sufficient Deputys, to treat and conclude upon the Articles of Surrender of the aforenamed place, Promising that I will faithfully fulfill whatsoever they shall so treat and conclude upon. In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto sett my hand and Seale, at the Camp before the Manhatans, this 26th day of August, Old Style, 1664.

RICHARD NICOLLS.

'Tis desired and agreed upon by the Commissioners on both parts above mentioned, that their meeting upon the premises shall be to-morrow morning, being the 27th of this month of August, Old Style, precisely at 8 o'clock in the morning, at a place called the Governor's Bowery, upon the Manhattans.

Copy of the Articles of Capitulation, agreed upon at the Governor's Bouwery, on Saturday, the $\frac{\text{27 August,}}{\text{6 September,}}$ 1664, and confirmed by Nicolls;—from N. Y. General Entries, I. 23–26, and from the Hollandtse Mercurius for September, 1664, 153, 154.

"These articles following were consented to by the persons hereunder subscribed, at the Governor's Bouwery, August 27th, Old Style [September 6th], 1664.

"I. We consent that the States-General, or the West India Company, shall freely enjoy all farms and houses (except such as are in the forts), and that within six months they shall have free liberty to transport all such arms and ammunition as now do belong to them, or else they shall be paid for them.

"II. All publique houses shall continue for the uses which they are now for.

"III. All people shall still continue free denizens, and shall enjoy their lands, houses, goods, shipps, wheresoever they are within this country, and dispose of them as they please.

"IV. If any inhabitant have a mind to remove himself, he shall have a year and six weeks from this day to remove himself, wife, children, servants, goods, and to dispose of his lands here.

"V. If any officer of state, or publique minister of state, have a mind to go for England, they shall be transported, freight free, in his majesty's frigates, when these frigates shall return thither.

"VI. It is consented to, that any people may freely come from the Netherlands, and plant in this country, and that Dutch vessels may freely come hither, and any of the Dutch may freely return home, or send any sort of merchandise home, in vessels of their own country.

"VII. All ships from the Netherlands, or any other place, and goods therein, shall be received here, and sent hence, after the manner which formerly they were before our coming hither, for six months next ensuing.

"VIII. The Dutch here shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in divine worship and church discipline.

"IX. No Dutchman here, or Dutch ship here, shall, upon any occasion, be pressed to serve in war, against any nation whatsoever.

"X. That the townsmen of the Manhatoes shall not have any soldiers quartered upon them without being satisfied and paid for them by their

officers, and that, at this present, if the fort be not capable of lodging all the soldiers, then the Burgomasters, by their officers, shall appoint some houses capable to receive them.

"XI. The Dutch here shall enjoy their own customs concerning their inheritances.

"XII. All publique writings and records, which concern the inheritances of any people, or the reglement of the church, or poor, or orphans, shall be carefully kept by those in whose hands now they are, and such writings as particularly concern the States-General may at any time be sent to them.

"XIII. No judgment that has passed any judicature here shall be called in question; but if any conceive that he hath not had justice done him, if he apply himself to the States-General, the other party shall be bound to answer for the supposed injury.

"XIV. If any Dutch living here shall at any time desire to travaile or traffique into England, or any place or plantation in obedience to his Majesty of England, or with the Indians, he shall have (upon his request to the Governor) a certificate that he is a free denizen of this place, and liberty to do so.

"XV. If it do appeare that there is a publique engagement of debt by the town of the Manhatoes, and a way agreed on for the satisfying of that engagement, it is agreed that the same way proposed shall go on, and that the engagement shall be satisfied.

"XVI. All inferior civil officers and magistrates shall continue as now they are (if they please) till the customary time of new election, and then new ones to be chosen by themselves, provided that such new chosen magistrates shall take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty of England, before they enter upon their office.

"XVII. All differences of contracts and bargains made before this day, by any in this country, shall be determined according to the manner of the Dutch.

"XVIII. If it do appeare that the West India Company of Amsterdam do really owe any sums of money to any persons here, it is agreed that recognition, and other duties payable by ships going for the Netherlands, be continued for six months longer.

"XIX. The officers military, and soldiers, shall march out with their arms, drums beating, and coulours flying, and lighted matches; and if any of them will plant, they shall have fifty acres of land set out for them; if any of them will serve as servants, they shall continue with all safety, and become free denizens afterwards.

"XX. If at any time hereafter the King of Great Britain and the States of the United Netherlands do agree that this place and country be redelivered into the hands of the said States, whensoever his Majestie will send his commands to redeliver it, it shall immediately be done.

"XXI. That the town of Manhatans shall choose deputyes, and those deputyes shall have free voyces in all publique affairs as much as any other deputyes.

"XXII. Those who have any property in any houses in the fort of Orange shall (if they please) slight the fortifications there, and then enjoy all their houses as all people do where there is no fort.

"XXIII. If there be any soldiers that will go into Holland, and if the Company of West India in Amsterdam, or any private persons here, will transport them into Holland, then they shall have a safe passport from Colonel Richard Nicolls, Deputy-Governor under his Royal Highness, and the other Commissioners, to defend the ships that shall transport such soldiers, and all the goods in them, from any surprizal or acts of hostility to be done by any of his Majestie's ships or subjects.

"XXIV. That the copy of the King's grant to his Royal Highness, and the copy of his Royal Highness's commission to Colonel Richard Nicolls (testified by two Commissioners more and Mr. Winthrop, to be true copies), shall be delivered to the Honourable Mr. Stuyvesant, the present Governor, on Monday next, by eight of the clock in the morning, at the Old Mill,* and also those articles consented to and signed by Colonel Richard Nicolls, Deputy Governor to his Royal Highness; and that within two hours after, the fort and town called New Amsterdam, upon the island of Manhatoes, shall be delivered into the hands of the said Colonel Richard Nicolls, by the service of such as shall be by him thereunto deputed by his hand and seal

"JOHN DE DECKER,	ROBERT CARR,
NICHOLAS VARLETT,	GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MEGAPOLENSIS,	JOHN WINTHROP,
CORNELIS STEENWYCK,	SAMUEL WILLYS,
JACQUES COUSSART,	THOMAS CLARKE,
OLOFF S. VAN CORTLANDT,	JOHN PINCHON.

"I do consent to these articles,

"RICHARD NICOLLS."

Copy of the Ratification of the Articles of Capitulation, by Stuyvesant and his Council, on Monday, the 29 August / 8 September, 1664;—from Albany Records, XVIII, 326, and General Entries, I. 31, 32.

THE DIRECTOR GENERAL AND COUNCIL OF NEW NETHERLAND, to all who shall hear or see this, GREETING: Be it known that we hereby ratify and confirm the Conditions agreed on and concluded, on the Sixth of this month, between our Commissioners, the Honorable John de Decker, member of our Council, Captain Nicholas Varlett, Commissary of wares and merchandises, the Reverend Samuel Megapolensis, the Honorable Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomaster, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, old Burgo-

* [illegible]

master; and Jacques Cousseau, old Schepen of this city, with the Commissioners of the Honorable Governor Richard Nicolls, Commander of His Britannic Majesty's frigates and land forces who besieged this fortress and city; namely, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, John Winthrop, Samuel Willys, John Pincheon, and Thomas Clarke; And We promise to execute the same. Done in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland, on 8th September, 1664.

P. STUYVESANT.

N. DE SILLE.
MARTIN KRYGIER.
PAULUS LEENDERTSEN VAN DER GRIST.
PIETER TONNEMAN.
JACOB BACKER.
TIMOTHEUS GABRY.
ISAAC GREVENRAET.
NICOLAAS DE MEYER.

I certifie the same.

CORNELIS VAN RUYVEN,
Secretary.

NOTE F.

Translation of a letter from CORNELIS VAN RUYVEN, late Secretary of NEW NETHERLAND, to the Dutch Villages on Long Island, announcing the Surrender, dated, 8 September, 1664;—from the Bushwick Records, and from Thompson's Long Island, II. 165; —see also N. Y. Colonial Documents, II. 415, 445, 502, 509.

September 8, 1664, *N. S.*

BELOVED FRIENDS:

It has happened that New Netherland is given up to the English, and that Peter Stuyvesant, Governor for the West India Company, has marched out of the Fort with his men, by Beaver street (*Bevers Paed*) to the Holland shipping, which lay there at the time; And that Governor Richard Nicolls, in the name of the King of England, ordered a corporal's guard to take possession of the Fort. Afterwards, the Governor, with two companies of men, marched into the Fort, accompanied by the Burgomasters of the City, who inducted the Governor, and gave him a welcome reception. Governor Nicolls has altered the name of the City of New Amsterdam, and named the same NEW YORK, and named the fort, FORT JAMES.

From your friend,

CORNELIS VAN RUYVEN.

NOTE G.

Translation of a letter from the SCHOUT, BURGOMASTERS, and SCHEPENS of the City of NEW AMSTERDAM, to the WEST INDIA COMPANY, dated, 16 *September*, 1664, N. S.;—from New Amsterdam Records, V. 567–570, and Valentine's Manual for 1860, 592, 593.

RIGHT HONORABLE, PRUDENT LORDS, THE LORDS DIRECTORS OF THE HONORABLE WEST INDIA COMPANY, AT THE AMSTERDAM CHAMBER:

RIGHT HONORABLE LORDS:—

We, your Honors' loyal, sorrowful, and desolate subjects, cannot neglect nor keep from relating the event, which, through God's pleasure, thus unexpectedly happened to us in consequence of your Honors' neglect and forgetfulness of your promise; to Wit: The arrival here of late, of four King's frigates from England, sent hither by His Majesty and his brother the Duke of York, with commission to reduce not only this place, but also the whole of New Netherland under His Majesty's authority; whereunto they brought with them a large body of soldiers, provided with considerable ammunition. On board of one of the frigates were about four hundred and fifty, as well soldiers as seamen; and the others in proportion.

The frigates being come together in front of Najac in the Bay, Richard Nicolls the Admiral, who is ruling here at present as Governor, sent a letter to our Lord Director-General, communicating therein the cause of his coming, and his wish.

On this unexpected letter, the Heer General sent for us, to determine what was to be done in the matter. Whereupon it was resolved and decided to send some Commissioners thither, to argue the matter with the General and his three Commissioners; who were so sent for this purpose twice. But no answer was received, except that they were not come here to dispute about it, but to execute their order and commission without fail, either peaceably or by force; and if they had any thing to dispute about it, it must be done with His Majesty of England, as we could do nothing here in the premises. Three days' delay was demanded for consultation. That was duly allowed;—but meanwhile they were not idle. They approached with their four frigates, two of which passed in front of the Fort. The other anchored about Nooten Island, and with five companies of soldiers encamped themselves at the Ferry opposite this place; together with a newly raised company of horse and a party of new soldiers, both from the North and from Long Island, mostly all our deadly enemies—who expected nothing else than pillage, plunder, and bloodshed—as men could perceive by their cursing and talking when mention was made of a capitulation.

Finally, being then encircled round about, we saw little means of deliverance. We considered what ought to be done; and after we had well inquired into our strength, and had found it to be full fifteen hundred souls in this place, but of them not two hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms, exclusive of the soldiers, who were about one hundred and fifty strong; wholly unprovided with powder, both in the city and in the Fort —yea, not more than six hundred pounds were found in the Fort besides seven hundred pounds that is unserviceable; Also because the countrymen, the third man of whom was called out, refused, We, with the greater portion of the inhabitants, considered it necessary to remonstrate with our Lord Director-General and Council, that their Honors might consent to a capitulation. Whereunto we labored according to our duty, and had much trouble; Laid down and considered all the difficulties which should arise therefrom, not being able to resist such an enemy, as they could also receive a much greater force than they then had under command.

The Director-General and Council at length consented thereunto. Whereupon Commissioners were sent to the Admiral, who notified him that it was resolved to come to terms, in order to save the shedding of blood, if a good Agreement could be concluded.

Six persons were commissioned on each side, for the purpose of treating on this matter; which they have done and concluded in manner as appears by the Articles annexed. How that will result, time will tell.

Meanwhile, since we have no longer to depend upon your Honors' promises or protection, We, with all the poor, sorrowing, and abandoned commonalty here, must fly for refuge to the Almighty God, not doubting but He will stand by us in this sorely afflicting conjuncture, and no more depart from us.

And we remain your

Sorrowful and abandoned subjects,

PIETER TONNEMAN, JACOB BACKER,
PAULUS LEENDERTSEN VAN DER GRIST, TIMOTHEUS GABRY,
CORNELIS STEENWYCK, ISAAC GREVENRAET,
NICOLAAS DE MEYER.

Done in Jorck, heretofore named Amsterdam, in New Netherland, Anno 1664, the 16th of September.

NOTE H.

Translation of a letter from the Reverend SAMUEL DRISIUS, one of the Collegiate Ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church at New Amsterdam, to the CLASSIS OF AMSTERDAM, dated 15 *September*, 1664, N. S.; from the *Original Manuscript* in the possession of the GENERAL SYNOD of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America.

TO THE REVEREND, LEARNED, AND PIOUS BROTHERS OF THE VENERABLE CLASSIS OF AMSTERDAM.

I cannot neglect to acquaint your Reverences with our present condition, namely that we are now brought under the government of the King of England. On the Twenty-sixth of August there arrived in the Bay of the North River, near Staten Island, four great ships-of-war or frigates, well equipped, manned with seamen and soldiers, having a Patent or Commission from the King of Great Britain to demand and receive this Province in the name of His Majesty, and, if the same should not be accomplished by amicable arrangement, then to attack the place by force; and that then all should be given over to the pillage, robbery, and spoil of the English soldiers. The people here were not a little amazed at the arrival of these frigates. Our Lords, the Director and Council, together with the Regents of the City, took this affair very much to heart; and with all diligence, by messages sent back and forth to the General Richard Nicolls, sought to delay these matters, and that they might be referred to his Majesty of England and the Lords States of Holland. But all was in vain! They landed their soldiers about six miles off, at Gravesend, and marched them on foot upon Long Island up to the Ferry, over against this place. And on the Fourth of September, the frigates came with full sail, as far as here, having their guns all ready on one side, charged and intending (in case any hostilities should be used against them) to discharge their full broadsides on this open place, and then to conquer this town by violence, and give over every thing to rapine and massacre. Our Noble Lords and Regents, as well of the Noble [West India] Company as of the City, were well disposed to defend the place. But they saw that it was impossible; because the town was not in a condition of defence, though it was now being fortified: that even then it could not be defended, seeing that each man would have to stand four rods from the other in the ramparts of the City: that there was little

provision of powder, as well in the fort as in the town; and that there was no relief or assistance to be expected;—but, on the other hand, that a great concourse of Englishmen, as well foot as horse, came hitherwards daily out of New England, very ardent for the plundering of this place; also that six hundred Northern Savages, and one hundred and fifty French rovers, with English commissions, had offered their services against us. So it was that our authorities, under the strong urgency of the burghers and inhabitants, were compelled, in order to prevent plundering and bloodshed, to resolve (however unwillingly) to come to an Agreement; the which was accordingly concluded on the Sixth of September. And so the English marched into our City on the Eighth of September, according to the Convention.

After the surrender of this place, several Englishmen, whom we have long known, and who are well affectioned towards us, came to us, saying that God had particularly ordered this affair so that it was settled by a Convention; because otherwise nothing could have come out of it but plundering, murdering, and total ruin. The which, also, several soldiers confirmed; who said that they had come here out of England in hope of booty, and now that it had fallen out otherwise, they wished that they might go back again to England.

And whereas it was arranged in the Articles that the Church service and doctrine, together with the Clergymen, should remain and continue as they have been until now, we could not separate ourselves from our congregation and hearers, but have felt ourselves obliged by our duty to abide, yet for a time, with the same, so that they should not, all at once, be scattered, and dwindle away.

I have a moderate sum due to me from the Noble [West India] Company, which I hope and wish may be paid. And so I end, commending your reverend persons and labors to the blessing of God, and remain,

Your Reverences' obedient Brother,

SAMUEL DRISIUS.

Manhattans,
Anno 1664, Sept. 15.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN RELATION TO

THE COMMEMORATION

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW NETHERLAND,

ON ITS

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
M DCCC LXIV.

Geo. H. Moore

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

1864.

President,
FREDERIC DE PEYSTER.

First Vice-President,
THOMAS DE WITT, D. D.

Second Vice-President,
BENJAMIN ROBERT WINTHROP.

Foreign Corresponding Secretary,
GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D.

Domestic Corresponding Secretary,
SAMUEL OSGOOD, D. D.

Recording Secretary,
ANDREW WARNER.

Treasurer,
BENJAMIN H. FIELD.

Librarian,
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JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD,
WILLIAM CHAUNCEY,
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GEORGE FOLSOM,
GEORGE GIBBS,
ROBERT L. STUART.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

COMMEMORATION

OF THE

CONQUEST OF NEW NETHERLAND.

OCTOBER 12, 1864.

THE New York Historical Society, at its meeting on the second of February, 1864, taking into consideration the importance of the event, resolved that it would commemorate, by suitable acts and proceedings, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Conquest of New Netherland, in the autumn of the year 1664.

A Committee of Arrangements, including some of its most distinguished members, was accordingly appointed, and JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD was selected to deliver the Commemorative Oration.

The Committee, in executing their duty, addressed the following letter of invitation to various Historical Societies and eminent citizens in New York and other States:—

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

LIBRARY, *New York City, September 15th*, 1864.

SIR:—The NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY proposes to commemorate, by suitable Acts and Proceedings, the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the CONQUEST OF NEW NETHERLAND, in the autumn of the year 1664.

Next to the discovery in 1609, by the Dutch, of New Netherland—the original bounds of which included the present States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

and Delaware—its conquest by the English, in 1664, is the most interesting event in the Colonial History of New York. The consequences of this event were of momentous import, not only to the City and the State of New York, but to the American Union. It forms one of those great epochs in National existence which it is the special office of Historical Societies fitly to observe.

The time appointed for the proposed commemoration is WEDNESDAY, THE TWELFTH OF OCTOBER next, being just two centuries after the last Dutch Fort on the Delaware was taken by the English, and the conquest of New Netherland was completed.

An Oration will be delivered on that day, before the Society and its guests, at the Hall of the Union, Cooper Institute, in this City, by JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D.; and other proceedings will take place.

In behalf of the New York Historical Society, the undersigned request the pleasure of your attendance on this occasion.

Awaiting your favorable reply,

We have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

GULIAN C. VERPLANCK, FREDERIC DE PEYSTER,
GEORGE BANCROFT, AUGUSTUS SCHELL,
HAMILTON FISH, GEORGE FOLSOM,
JAMES W. BEEKMAN, CHARLES P. KIRKLAND,
EVERT A. DUYCKINCK, ANDREW WARNER,
GEORGE H. MOORE,

Committee of Arrangements.

In pursuance of these arrangements, a special meeting of the Society was held at the Hall of the Union, Cooper Institute, at a quarter past seven o'clock, on Wednesday evening, the twelfth of October, 1864.

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the meeting was largely attended by a very respectable audience. Among those who occupied seats on the platform were many distinguished citizens, representing various departments in the State and municipal governments, the Army and Navy, and the learned professions. Delegates from several Historical Societies were also present. The New Hampshire Society was represented by the Rev. Dr. N. Bouton and Joseph B. Walker, Esq.; Maine, by the Rev. William Stevens Perry; Rhode Island, by Dr. Usher Parsons; Connecticut, by J. Hammond Trumbull, Esq.; New Jersey, by William A. Whitehead, Esq., and Solomon Alofsen, Esq.; Pennsylvania, by Thomas H. Montgomery, Esq.; Delaware, by Bishop Lee, Dr. Henry F. Askew, and William D. Dowe, Esq.; Long Island, by

the Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, Charles E. West, LL.D., Joshua M. Van Cott, Esq., Dr. Henry R. Stiles, and Alden J. Spooner, Esq.; Buffalo, by William Dorsheimer, Esq., Dr. James P. White, George S. Hazard, Esq.

The meeting was called to order by FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, Esquire, the President of the Society, who addressed the audience as follows:—

MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

We are assembled this evening to commemorate the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Conquest of New Netherland, in the autumn of the year 1664. The circumstances and the consequences of this momentous event will be appropriately set forth to you by the Orator selected by the Society. A century after her conquest, New York was foremost among her sister colonies in taking measures which looked towards National Independence. Retributive justice, in 1783, followed slowly, but surely, the trespass of 1664. In our own day, when another century has passed away, our powerful and patriotic State is found putting forth gigantic efforts to maintain our National Union; assaulted as it is by domestic treason, which is fostered by foreign machinations. The Commemorative Oration, on this occasion, will be delivered by our fellow-member, JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, Doctor of Laws, and well known as the historian of our State. The proceedings of this evening will begin by a Prayer, to be offered by the Reverend THOMAS DE WITT, Doctor of Divinity, Senior Minister of the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in this city, and First Vice-President of this Society.

The Reverend Doctor DE WITT then offered an appropriate Prayer.

After which, the President introduced Mr. BRODHEAD, who proceeded to deliver his Oration.

At the conclusion of Mr. Brodhead's Oration, the Honorable GULIAN CROMMELIN VERPLANCK rose to move a resolution of thanks.

Mr. VERPLANCK said, that in offering this Resolution, laboring as he was under a severe cold, and a hoarseness which must render his voice scarcely audible to most of this assembly, yet he could not refrain from expressing the high gratification he had felt in listening to the discourse just concluded. It contained much curious and instructive historical information, most of it not familiar even to the studious historical inquirer, and the fruit of large and accurate research. It was enriched throughout by a sagacious and clear-sighted historical philosophy, tracing out both the causes and the results of the most striking and the noblest peculiarities of the character and fortunes of our State and Nation. Above all, he could not but admire, as well as sympathize with, the glowing and grateful ancestral spirit which animated the Orator,—a worthy descendant of the compatriots of William the Silent,—and which had enkindled congenial emotions among his

and Delaware—its conquest by the English, in 1664, is the most interesting event in the Colonial History of New York. The consequences of this event were of momentous import, not only to the City and the State of New York, but to the American Union. It forms one of those great epochs in National existence which it is the special office of Historical Societies fitly to observe.

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hearers. Mr. Verplanck added, that he was not able to expatiate on this rich and abundant theme, but must have recourse to the better voice of the Secretary, to make his resolution audible to the Society.

The Resolution offered by Mr. VERPLANCK having been read, as follows :—

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are eminently due, and are hereby tendered, to JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL. D., for his eloquent Oration, delivered this evening, in Commemoration of the Conquest of New Netherland, and that a copy be requested for the Archives of the Society, and for publication:—

The Honorable GEORGE BANCROFT said :—

I rise to second the vote of thanks which has been proposed for the admirable discourse to which we have just listened. It is marked by a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the subject, and by a careful style; and it has been delivered with an earnestness which has enchained the attention of all.

We remind ourselves, with just pride, that Mr. Brodhead is one of the oldest members of our Society, and not surpassed by any in diligence and efficiency. It is to him that this State owes an invaluable collection of the Documents, gathered from many sources, to illustrate its History. To him, also, it owes the commencement of a work on its history, which is so full, so accurate, so marked by research, and an honest love of historic truth, that we have only to bid him go on and finish what he has so worthily begun.

We have all been pleased with the zeal with which he has, this evening, dwelt on the virtues of the Republic of the United Netherlands; and there can be no division of opinion as to the substantial fidelity of his picture. Such was always the opinion of New England. The founders of the first colony in Massachusetts, when they fled from the persecutions of their mother country, knew that Holland alone was the land where they could enjoy freedom of conscience; and in our day the hand that has portrayed, in the strongest and most lasting colors, the heroism and the sufferings of the Batavians, when, in pursuit of their liberties, they went unflinchingly through the baptism of fire and of blood, was that of a New Englander.

Our orator has set before our eyes a bright vision of the glory of New Netherland, when its territory, according to its claims, extended from some shadowy boundary in the distant north, beyond the southern Cape of the Delaware; and has set before us the successive aggressions by which that vast territory was dismembered, and formed into separate communities and States. Yet, as I listened to him, I seemed to think that the Providence which rules in human affairs, manifested in this a benevolent design. Had New Netherland remained undivided, it would have been so powerful, so opulent, and so self-relying, that it might have spurned at the thought of an equal union with other Colonies. It was broken into pieces, that New York, which by its position ought to be the eye of the country, might learn to feel its high vocation, to rally the many States of our Republic into superior union, to defend that union against all assailants, and to remain forever its spear and its shield!

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Benediction was then pronounced by the Reverend Doctor DE WITT.

Immediately afterwards, a Reception was held at the Library of the Society, which was well attended. After some time spent in examining the Museum and Galleries, an entertainment was served in the Nineveh Room. At the call of the President, remarks were made by several of the invited guests, among whom were—

ALDEN J. SPOONER, Esq., of the Long Island Historical Society.

WILLIAM DORSHEIMER, Esq., of the Buffalo Historical Society.

THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY, Esq., of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

ALFRED B. STREET, Esq., of Albany.

Attorney-General JOHN COCHRANE.

CORRESPONDENCE, ETC.

1. From Brantz Mayer, dated Baltimore, September 24, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

2. From John William Wallace, dated Philadelphia, September 25, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

3. From Henry R. Schoolcraft, dated Washington, September 25, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

4. From John M. Barbour, dated New York, September 26, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

5. From Millard Fillmore, President of the Buffalo Historical Society, dated Buffalo, September 26, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

6. From Charles J. Hoadley, dated Hartford, September 26, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

7. From William H. Bogart, dated Aurora, Cayuga Lake, September 27, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

8. From the Mayor of the City of New York, dated New York, September 27, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

9. From James Moncrief, dated New York, 29th September, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

10. From William H. Seward, dated Washington City, 29th September, 1864, acknowledging the invitation of the Committee:—

"I am profoundly gratified for the consideration which the New York Historical Society have manifested, by inviting me to attend their proposed Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Conquest of New Netherland. The changes in the condition of the American Continent which have followed, and in some respects are due to, that great Revolution, contribute a theme upon which I should like to hear the distinguished scholar you have chosen to be the Orator of the occasion. But, just now, I am encumbered with the cares incident to the effort of our country to save all that she has hitherto gained, and to secure for the continent a brighter and nobler future than we have before contemplated; and so, my respected and esteemed friend, I must ask you to have me excused."

11. From N. Bouton, Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society, dated Concord, N. H., September 29, 1864, communicating the acceptance of the invitation of the Committee, and the appoint-

ment of the Rev. N. Bouton, D. D., and Joseph B. Walker, Esq., as delegates from that Society.

12. From Gideon J. Tucker, Surrogate, &c., dated New York, September 30, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

13. From D. T. Valentine, dated New York, October 1, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

14. From Charles W. Sandford, Major-General, &c., dated New York, October 1, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

15. From Henry E. Davies, Judge of the Court of Appeals, dated Albany, October 1, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

16. From Henry R. Selden, Judge of the Court of Appeals, dated Rochester, October 3, 1864, acknowledging the invitation of the Committee.

17. From William A. Whitehead, dated Newark, N. J., October 3, 1864, accepting the invitation of the Committee.

18. From William A. Whitehead, Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, dated Newark, N. J., October 3, 1864, communicating the acceptance of the invitation of the Committee, and the appointment of the Hon. Richard S. Field, Solomon Alofsen, Esq., and William A. Whitehead, Esq., as delegates from that Society.

19. From Edward Ballard, Secretary of the Maine Historical Society, dated Brunswick, Me., October 4, 1864, communicating the acceptance of the invitation of the Committee, and the appointment of the Hon. Edward E. Bourne, the Right Rev. George Burgess, D. D., the Hon. William Willis, the Hon. John A. Poor, and the Rev. Edward Ballard, as delegates from that Society.

20. From Robert C. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, dated Boston, October 5, 1864, communicating the acceptance of the invitation of the Committee, and the appointment of delegates from that Society:—

"Your obliging communication, inviting the Massachusetts Historical Society to send a delegation to your most interesting Commemoration on the 12th instant, was gratefully received. As no meeting of our Society would take place until after the occasion was over, our Standing Committee have appointed several of our members to represent us on the occasion; and I trust that they will be present with you.

"I regret extremely that it will not be in my own power to attend this festival, agreeably to your kind request. I have not forgotten the prominent part which was played by Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, in the events which you commemorate; and it would be particularly pleasant to me to be permitted to represent him on the occasion. But if your worthy Vice-President shall have returned from Europe in season for the celebration, you will have a representative of Winthrop and Stuyvesant in the same person. My worthy cousin would also be able to bring with him the original draft of the letter of Winthrop to Stuyvesant, which was the occasion of so much violent indignation. It was my good fortune to obtain possession of this letter, a few years since, and, after printing it in our Massachusetts Historical Collections, to transfer it to the ownership of one who had a double claim to its possession."

Mch 16/17 – [illegible]

July 10/22 – July 16/22

July 29/26 – Aug 1/26

see p. 9 for Ref w [illegible] 1621

[illegible] 1014 [illegible] 59.60